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# THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

## VOLUME THE FOURTH:

CONTAINING

A LONDON CHRONICLE DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH AND HENRY THE EIGHTH.

THE EXPENSES OF THE JUDGES OF ASSIZE RIDING THE WESTERN AND OXFORD CIRCUITS, 1596-1601.

THE INCREDULITY OF ST. THOMAS, THE SCRIVENERS' PLAY AT YORK.

THE CHILDE OF BRISTOW, A POEM BY JOHN LYDGATE.

SIR EDWARD LAKE'S INTERVIEWS WITH CHARLES I.

LETTERS OF POPE TO ATTERBURY WHEN IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL IN MARCH 1627-8.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.L.IX.

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# LONDON CHRONICLE

DURING THE REIGNS OF

HENRY THE SEVENTH AND HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY OF  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY CLARENCE HOPPER.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.LIX.



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE writer of this Chronicle appears to have been a citizen of London. He duly records under each mayoralty the occurrences of the year, but more especially those events which particularly relate to the City. He notes the progresses of the Royal Family, the arrival of illustrious visitors into London, the paving of Chancery, Fetter, and Shoe Lanes, the ill-doings of the "London prentises," the state of the weather, the general health of the City, and the principal conflagrations. The destruction of monastic relics, and the gradual changes in religious worship, the names of those who were executed and burned, fill up this catalogue of interesting and curious events. When we remember that, in those days hanging, burning, boiling, and quartering were of almost daily occurrence, it will not appear strange that he should tell us the names of those who died in their beds. It is to be regretted, however, that many years are so curtly dismissed with merely a mention of the names of the Mayors. The

MS. closes with the year 1545; it is therefore not an improbable supposition that the writer died soon after that period. I cannot omit acknowledging myself indebted to that useful publication, "Notes and Queries," for some of the notes which will be found appended to this little Chronicle.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

*London, Sept. 30, 1858.*

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# LONDON CHRONICLE

IN

## THE TIMES OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH AND KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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[Brit. Mus. Cotton. MS. Vespasian A. xxv. f. 38—46.]

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K. H. y<sup>e</sup> VII.

M. REMYNGTON, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> Then came yn my lady Kataryn, the Kyngges daughter of Castelle, in to Inghland.<sup>b</sup>

M. SCHAWE, Mayir.<sup>c</sup> Then was Prince Arthur, the son of K. H. the VII<sup>th</sup>, maryid unto my lady Kataryn above sayd at Polles, and agaynst her commyng in to London was many goodly pageantes made in y<sup>e</sup> Citte at Alhalowtide when they weere maryed.

M. BARTILMEW REDE, Mayir.<sup>d</sup> Then dyid Prince Arthur<sup>e</sup> above sayd.

M. CAPELL, Mayir.<sup>f</sup> Then was London brydge a fyir.

M. WYNGGAR, Mayir.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Remington, A D. 1500.

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Shaw, 1501.

<sup>e</sup> In Easter week at Ludlow.

<sup>g</sup> Sir John Winger, 1504.

<sup>b</sup> 3rd October.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Bartholomew Read, 1502.

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Capel, 1503.

M. KNEISWORTH, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> Then came yn Dewke Phillip of Burgon agaynst his wille, w<sup>t</sup> tempast of wethir as he was goyng in to Spayn, whiche afterward was Kyng of Castelle.<sup>b</sup> Then was Polles wether cok bloun down.

M. HADDON, Mayir.<sup>c</sup>

M. BROWNE and M. ELMAR, Mayir.<sup>d</sup>

### K. H. y<sup>e</sup> VIII.

M. JENYNGGES, Mayir.<sup>e</sup> Then dyid K. H. the VII<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> xxij day of Aprill. Then did y<sup>e</sup> deuke of Yoreke, whiche was brother unto prynce Artur afore sayd, mary w<sup>t</sup> my lady Kataryn, his brothur's wife, and was crounyd bothe kyng and quene on mydsomer day sonday next after following.

M. BRADBERRY and M. CAPELL, Mayrs.<sup>f</sup> Then was Richard Emson and Edmond Dudley, which was afore chefe men w<sup>t</sup> Kyng H. the VII., behedid at Tou<sup>r</sup> hille,<sup>g</sup> and then was Petté Waals in Temmys strete a fyir.

M. KEBYLL, Mayir.<sup>h</sup>

M. ARSSCHELEY, Mayir.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Kneesworth, 1505.

<sup>b</sup> Driven by stress of weather into Plymouth on the night of the 15th January.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Richard Haddon, 1506.

<sup>d</sup> Sir William Browne, 1507, died during his year of office, and Sir Laurence Aylemer was chosen.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Stephen Jennings, 1508.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Thomas Bradbury, 1509, died during his mayoralty, and was succeeded by Sir W. Capel.

<sup>g</sup> 17th August.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Henry Keble, 1510.

<sup>i</sup> Sir Roger Acheley, 1511.

M. COPYNGER and M. HADDON, Mayrs.<sup>a</sup> Then went K. H. the VIII<sup>th</sup> in to Fraunce w<sup>t</sup> a grete pouer; then y<sup>e</sup> Emprour y<sup>t</sup> then was whose name was Maximyanus and all his oste toke wages of ou<sup>r</sup> Kyng, and then was Torwyn<sup>b</sup> and Torney won and gevyn a way a none after. Then came yn Kyng Jamys of Skotland w<sup>t</sup> a grete powar full cowardly when ou<sup>r</sup> kyng was in Fraunce, and was kylde<sup>c</sup> for his labour. And on Saynt Laurans day was the Regent of England and y<sup>e</sup> grete Caricke of Fraunce burnd,<sup>d</sup> whiche was ij the gretist shippes in Cristindom.

M. BROWN and M. TATE, Mayirs.<sup>e</sup>

M. MONOX, Mayir.<sup>f</sup>

M. BUTLAR, Mayir.<sup>g</sup>

M. REST, Mayir.<sup>h</sup> Then was the ill May day, y<sup>e</sup> Comons of the Citte and prentesis did rob and spoyle strayingars, and then was in dyverce places of the citte galous sett up and there was hanggid and quartarid: then was midsomer terme kepte at Oxford a litille while.

M. EXMEW, Mayir.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Copinger, 1512. He died during his mayoralty, and Sir William Haddon was chosen in his room.

<sup>b</sup> Therouenne in Picardy, won on the eve of St. Bartholomew.

<sup>c</sup> At Branstone near Berwick in the month of August.

<sup>d</sup> The great Carrick of Brest. With this vessel her captain Sir Piers Morgan and 900 men perished. In the Regent were drowned or burned her captain Sir Thomas Knevet, and Sir John Carew of Devonshire, with 700 men. See account of this engagement in Grafton's Chronicle.

<sup>e</sup> Sir William Browne, Sir John Tate, 1513.

<sup>f</sup> Sir George Monoux, 1514.

<sup>g</sup> Sir William Butler, 1515.

<sup>h</sup> Sir John Rest, 1516.

<sup>i</sup> Sir Thomas Exmewe, 1517.

M. MYRFYN, Mayř.<sup>a</sup> Then was y<sup>e</sup> menoris<sup>b</sup> burnd.

M. YARFORD, Mayir.<sup>c</sup>

M. BRIGGES, Mayir.<sup>d</sup> Then was y<sup>e</sup> deuke of Buckynggame behedid at Tour hill y<sup>e</sup> xvij day of Maye, Fryday, and is beryed at Freer Austens.

M. MYLBURN, Mayř.<sup>e</sup> Then came in the Emprou<sup>r</sup> Charlus, whiche was son of y<sup>e</sup> Kyng of Castell afore sayd.<sup>f</sup>

M. MUNDY, Mayir.<sup>g</sup> Then came yn the Kyng of Denmark and his quene, and lay in y<sup>e</sup> Bissshop of Bathis place w<sup>t</sup> oute Tempull bar. And then was the Roodes<sup>h</sup> lost.

M. BAWDRE, Mayir.<sup>i</sup>

M. BAYLY, Mayir.<sup>k</sup>

M. ALLEN, Mayir.<sup>l</sup>

M. SEYMER, Mayir.<sup>m</sup>

M. SPENSER, Mayir.<sup>n</sup> Then was no watche kepte at Midsomer.

M. RUDSTONE, Mayir.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Mirfin, 1518.

<sup>b</sup> The Minories.

<sup>c</sup> Sir James Yarford, 1519.

<sup>d</sup> Sir John Bridges, 1520.

<sup>e</sup> Sir John Milborne, 1521.

<sup>f</sup> 26 May, at Dover.

<sup>g</sup> Sir John Mundy, 1522.

<sup>h</sup> Rhodes taken by Sultan Solyman, (eighth of the line of Ottoman,) on Christmas day.

<sup>i</sup> Sir Thomas Baldry, 1523.

<sup>k</sup> Sir William Bayley, 1524.

<sup>l</sup> Sir John Allen, 1525.

<sup>m</sup> Sir Thomas Seamer, 1526.

<sup>n</sup> Sir James Spencer, 1527.

<sup>o</sup> Sir John Rudstone, 1528.



MR. DODMORE, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> Then was y<sup>e</sup> Cardenalle pute oute of his Chauncelarship, and sir Thomas Moore, knyght, was made Chauncelar of England.

M. PARGETAR, Mayir.<sup>b</sup>

M. LAMBART, Mayir.<sup>c</sup> Then came in a grete fissue at Tynmouth.

M. PECOK, Mayir.<sup>d</sup> Then was quene Kataryn lady douagear put a side; then did the Kyng mary w<sup>t</sup> my lady An Bullen, and crounyd her queene at Westm' on Witsonday y<sup>e</sup> fyrst day of June.

M. ASKEW, Mayir.<sup>e</sup> Then was y<sup>e</sup> holy mayde of Kent,<sup>f</sup> ij freers, ij monkes,<sup>g</sup> and the parson of Aldermary<sup>h</sup> drawn from y<sup>e</sup> tou<sup>r</sup> to Tiburn, there hanged and hedid.<sup>i</sup> Then was M. Docto<sup>r</sup> Taylar, prest, put oute of the Rolles, and M. Thomas Cromwell, temporalle man, made M. of y<sup>e</sup> Rolles and the kyngges secretary, and after that lord prevesele, and after that vicar generalle of alle England and knyght of the Gartar, and after y<sup>t</sup> lord Chamburlyan and Erle of Essex.

M. CHAMPNEY, Mayir.<sup>j</sup> Then was iij monckes of the Chartarhouse of London, and the Father of Syon, and a preest, drawn from the Towr to Tiburn, the<sup>r</sup> hangid, hedid, and quartarid; and after that iij monckes more of the Chartarhouse, and the Bisshop of Rochester,<sup>k</sup> behedid at Towr hille on Midsomer eve is eve, and is beryid in Barkyng churcheyard by the northe doore; and sir Thomas Moore, knyght, and Chauncelar of England, beheded at Towr hille on

<sup>a</sup> Sir Ralph Dodmer, 1529.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Thomas Pargiter, 1530.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Nicholas Lambard, 1531.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Stephen Peacock, 1532.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Christopher Askew, 1533.

<sup>f</sup> Elizabeth Barton.

<sup>g</sup> Edward Bocking and Richard Dering.


<sup>h</sup> Henry Golde.

<sup>i</sup> 5th May.

<sup>j</sup> Sir John Champness, 1534.

<sup>k</sup> John Fisher.

saynte Thomas eve after mydsomer, and was beryid w<sup>tin</sup> the Tour of London. Then the kyng made his owne hed to be pold, and many lordes and knyghtes, and all the corte.

M. ALLEN, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> Agayn twyis hole for him selfe. Then dyid quene Kataryn a boutte twelfe tide, and was beryed in Peturborow Abbey. The xvij day of May was behedid at Tour hille my lord Rocheford, quene Ans brother, and M. Noris, M. Weston, M. Breuton, and M. Marke,<sup>b</sup> for treson, and beryed alle in the Tour. The xix day of Maye was behedid w<sup>t</sup> in the Tour<sup>r</sup> a pon a skaffold quene An, and there was beryed. Then the kyng did mary w<sup>t</sup> my lady Jane Semer. Then dyid the kyngges bastard son deuke of Rechemonde<sup>c</sup> at St. Jamys be yend Charyng . Then roos up the comons of Lyncolshere<sup>d</sup> and of Yorke sheer. Then was dyverce halidays put doune, and then began the abbes to go down.

M. WARREN, Mayir.<sup>e</sup> Then was my Lord Garet, the Erllles son of Kildare in Erlond, and v<sup>f</sup> of his unckulles drawn from the Tour to Tiburn, there hanggid, hedid, and quartarid, y<sup>e</sup> morow after Candilmas day, Satterday. The xxv day of Maye, Fryday, In<sup>ber</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Allen, 1535.

<sup>b</sup> *Read*, M. William Brierton, and M. Marke [*Smeton*].

<sup>c</sup> Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, natural son of King Henry VIII. by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, of Kynlet, co. Salop, born 1519, married to the Lady Mary Howard, only daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. He died on the 22nd of July, 1536, at the palace of St. James's, and was buried at Thetford in Norfolk. His body was at the dissolution removed to Framlingham, where there is a monument to his memory. His mother, who possessed considerable personal attractions, was shortly after the birth of the Duke of Richmond married to Gilbert Taylboys, son of Sir George Taylboys, of Kyme, co. Lincoln. (See the Memoir of the Duke of Richmond, in the third volume of Miscellanies published by the Camden Society, 1855.)

<sup>d</sup> See Greyfriars Chronicle.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Ralph Warren, 1536.

<sup>f</sup> The uncles of Thomas Lord Fitzgarret were Sir James Fitzgarret, Sir John Fitzgarret, Sir Richard Fitzgarret, Sir Oliver Fitzgarret, Sir Walter Fitzgarret.

day, was Sr John Bowmer,<sup>a</sup> knight, drawn from the Tour to Tiburn, there hanggid and hedid, and his wife y<sup>t</sup> same our burnd in Smythfeld, both for treson; and Sir Stevyn Hamerton, knyght, and Sr Nicolas Tempas [*knyght*]<sup>b</sup>, the Abbot of Fountans, the prior of Gisburgh, and Docto<sup>r</sup> Pekeryng, drawn from the Tour to Tiburn, there hanggid, hedid, and quartarid. The ij day of June, Satterday, was Sr Thomas Perci knyght, my Lord Lumley is son,<sup>c</sup> Sr Frauncis Beygot, knyght, the Abot of Jarvis<sup>d</sup> [*and another moncke*], drawn from the Tour to Tyburn, y<sup>r</sup> hanggid, hedid, and quartarid. On Saynt Peturs eve was my lorde Hussey and Sir Robart Constabulle, knyght, and Mr. Aske, which was the hed Capten of alle, sent home in to the northe contre, and there they suffrid dethe; and M. Aske was hanggid in Yorke castelle [*upon y<sup>e</sup> walles*] in cheynys. The last day of June, Satterday,<sup>e</sup> was my lorde Darcy, behedid at Tour hill. On Saynte Edwardes eve, Fryday in the mornynge, was prince Edward boorn, the trew son of K. H. the VIII. and quene Jane his mothur, in Hamton Corte. His godffathurs was the deuke of Norfok, and the deuke of Suffocke, and the Bisschop of Caunterbery; and his godmothur was his owne sister, whiche was dooughter of quene Kataryn a fore sayd. On saynte Crispyns eve, Wensday, dyid quene Jane in childbed, and is beryid in the castelle of Wynsor.

M. GRESSAM, Mayir.<sup>f</sup> On saynt Mathies day th' apostulle the xxiiij day of February Sonday did the bisshop of Rochestere<sup>g</sup> preche at Polles cros, and had standyng a fore hym alle his sermon tyme the pictur of the Roode of grace in Kent that had byn many yeris in the Abbey of Boxley in Kent, and was gretely sought w<sup>t</sup> pilgryms, and

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Bulmer; the female here styled his wife was Margaret Cheyney, said to have been his mistress.

<sup>b</sup> The words within brackets printed in italics are erased in the original.

<sup>c</sup> George Lumley.

<sup>d</sup> Adam Sodbury. The other monk (here erased) was the prior of Burlington, or Bridlington.

<sup>e</sup> The Greyfriars Chronicle places this on the 20th June.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Richard Gresham, 1537.

<sup>g</sup> John Hilsey.

when he had made an ende of his sermon the pictor was toorn alle to peces. Then was the pictor of saynte Savio<sup>r</sup> that had stand in Barmsey Abbey many yeris in Southwarke takyn down. The xxij day of Maye, Wensday, was there set up in Smythfeld iij skaffoldes; the one was for my lord mayir and aldyrmen, and the deuke of Norfocke, the deuke of Suffocke, and my lorde prevesele; and the tothir for the bisshop of Worcetter, wheer on he stode and preche; and the third skaffold was made over a gaynst y<sup>e</sup> bisshop, where on stode doctor Forrest, a graye freer of Grenewitche, whiche had byn many yers afore a grete precher at Polles crosse, and beside hym was there a picto<sup>r</sup> set up that was brought oute of Walis, that was callid Dervelle gadern,<sup>a</sup> and a litill beside that a payr of galous set up, and

<sup>a</sup> *Dervel Gadarn*, vulgarly called *Darvel Gatheren*, was son of Hywell ap Emyr Llydaw. He was the founder of Llanderfel church in Merioneth, and lived early in the 6th century. His festival occurs on the 5th of April. Michael Wodde (1554) thus alludes to him: "If the Welchman would have a purse he prayed to Darvel Gathorn." Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his Life of King Henry VIII. mentions the destruction of this effigy. "A huge image called Darvel Gathorn being fetched out of Wales, served to burn Friar Forrest, condemned for counselling people in confession not to believe the King's supremacy, and to elude I know not what old blind prophesie."

The prophecy here alluded to was probably one which was current among the Welsh, viz., that this image would set a whole forest on fire, which prophecy was supposed to be fulfilled in the burning this friar. Upon the gallows to which he was attached these verses were inscribed:—

David Darvell Gatheren,  
As saith the Welshmen,  
    Fetched outlaws out of hell;  
Now he is come with spere and shilde,  
In harnes to burn in Smithfelde,  
    For in Wales he may not dwell.  
And Forest the frier,  
That obstinate lyer,  
    That wilfully shall be dead,  
In his contumacie,  
The Gospell doth deny,  
    The King to be Supreme Head.



when the Bisshop had made an end of his sermon, then was the freer had to the galous and hanggid a live by the myddylle and the armys w<sup>t</sup> chaynys and there burnd, and the picto<sup>r</sup> cast in to the fyir to. Then was the picto<sup>r</sup> of our lady of Worcetter brought to London. Then was the Roode that stode in Saynt Margit Pattens churche yarde takyn a waye, whiche had stoud there xxxv yere and more, and with yn a litille while after there was burnd on a nyght over a gaynst the same churche a grete mayne of housis. Then was the picto<sup>r</sup> of ou<sup>r</sup> lady of Walsynggame, whiche was the grettist pilgrimage in all England, brought to London. Then was the Rood of Northor and Saynt Unckumber,<sup>a</sup> that stode in Polles many yeris, takyn down, and ou<sup>r</sup> lady of grace y<sup>t</sup> had stond in Polles many yers.

The parson and parishioners offered a bribe of 40*l.* that this image should not be taken away. (See Ellis's Letters.)

<sup>a</sup> Saint Uncumber is one of those saints whose names are not to be found in any calendar, and whose histories are only to be gleaned from the occasional allusions that we meet with in early writers.

Michael Wodde says, "If a wife were weary of her husband she offered oats at Powles, at London, to St. Uncumber."

If ye cannot slepe but slumber,  
Geve otes unto Saynt Uncumber,  
And beanes in a certen number,  
Unto Saynt Blaze and Saint Blythe.

Sir Thomas More, in his *Dialogue* (Book 2, chap. x.), makes special mention of Saint Uncumber, whose proper name it appears was Saint Wylgeforte. Speaking of the Saints, he says: "Some serve for the eye onely, and some for a sore breast. St. Germain onely for chyldren, and yet will he not ones loke at them, but if the mother bryng with them a whyte lofe and a pot of good ale. And yet is he wyser than St. Wylgeforte, for she good soule is as they saye servyd and content with otyes. Whereof I can not perceyve the reason, but yf it be bycause she shold provyde an horse for an evyll housbonde to ryde to the devyll upon, for that is the thyng that she is so sought for as they say. In so moch that the women hath therfore chaunged her name, and in stede of St. Wylgeforte call her St. Uncumber, bycause they reken that for a peecke of otyes she wyll not fayle to *uncumber* theym of theyr housebondys."

It would seem also that there was a custom of offering of oats at "Poules," when a wife was weary of her husband, to St. Rhadegund.

Then was Saynt Thomas Schryne of Canterbery take down, whiche had byn many yeris a grete pilgremage. Then was every man, woman, and child, coñmaundid to lerne ther patar noster, ave and crede, in Englissche. Then hit was coñmaundid that no light should be set in churches a fore no Image, but alle take a waye.

M. FORMAN, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> Then was y<sup>e</sup> monckes of y<sup>e</sup> chartar house and alle y<sup>e</sup> freers in London put oute of ther housis. The ix day of Dissembar, monday, was beheddid at Tour hill the Erlle of Deven-sheer, othur wyis called Markes of Excetter, whiche was nye kyn unto the Kynge, and my Lorde Muntagewe and Sir Edward Nevelle knyght. The viij<sup>b</sup> day of Maye, Thursday, did alle the citte of London, every house holdar hym selfe and every servant y<sup>t</sup> he had y<sup>t</sup> was parsonabulle, had harnes les or more, and white cotes, and a red crose and a swerd set a pon the cote bothe be hynd and be fore, and all the chefe men had their cotes som of white satten and som of white damaske, and crossis and swerdes a pon them, as alle the tothir had. Then went they alle and my lord mayir and alle the Aldirmen to myle end w<sup>t</sup> owte Algate in the mornyng, and there they weere set forthe be five in a ray w<sup>t</sup> standardes born a fore them, and drounslates<sup>c</sup> playing a fore them alle the way, and they weer devidid in iiij battelles w<sup>t</sup> bowis, gonnys, mores-pikes, and billes, and so came thorow alle the citte and throw alle Westm', and aboute alle the newe parke, and came homward by saynt Jamys, and so over the felde and thorow Holburn, and so home a gayn, and the Kynge stode at Westmynster over the new gate, and saw them alle from the begynnyng to the endyng. Then was no watche kepte at Mid-somer. The ix day of July, wensday, was beheddid at Tour hille Sr Andry Foskew<sup>d</sup> knyght and a knyght of y<sup>e</sup> Roodes.<sup>e</sup> Then did

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Forman, 1538.

<sup>b</sup> For account of this great muster see Grafton's Chronicle.

<sup>c</sup> Drounslate or dronslade, a kind of tabor or kettle-drum. (Vide H. Machyn's Diary.)

<sup>d</sup> Sir Adrian Fortescue.

<sup>e</sup> This knight of Rhodes was Sir Thomas Dingley.

the Bisship of Worcetter, whois name was Latemar, geve up his Bisshiprike unto the kyng.

M. HOLLYS, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> The iij<sup>d</sup> day of Jenyver, Satterday, did the kyng and all y<sup>e</sup> noblis of y<sup>e</sup> Reme, and y<sup>e</sup> Mayir and all y<sup>e</sup> Aldirmen in ther best araye, and every craft in y<sup>r</sup> best a raye, went down in ther barges to Grenwitche, and every barge as goodly drest as they coude device w<sup>t</sup> stremars and bannars, and ther the kyng did mete and reseve on Black heth my lady An, the Deukes doughter of Kleve, and made her queene of England. The xxviiij day of July, wensday, was beheddid at Tow<sup>r</sup> hille Thomas Cromwelle, whiche that had byn a fore M. of the Rolles, and after that the Kynges secretary, and after that vicar generall, knyght of the gartar, Erlle of Essex, and lord Chamburlyan of Ingland; and my lord Hunggurford was beheddid ther that same tyme too. The xxx daye of July, Fryday, was there drawn from the Tow<sup>r</sup> to Smythfeld vj doctors; iij of them was burnd, and the tother iij was hangged and quartarid; they y<sup>t</sup> were burnd ther namys were Doctor Barns, Doctor Garet parson of Honny Lane, Doctor Jherom vicar of Stepney; and ther namys that was quartarid, Doctor Powelle, Doctor Abelle, and Doctor Fethurstone; and the heddes of my lorde Cromwell and my Lorde Hungurford weer set up on London bridge, and ther bodyis beryid in the Tow<sup>r</sup>. This same yere was quene An the Deukes doughter of Kleve a fore sayd put a side. The viij daye of August, sonday, did the Kyng mare w<sup>t</sup> my lady Kataryn Haward, the Dewke of Norfocke his brothurs doughter, and made her quene of England. That yere dyid my lorde of Saynt Jhons in his bed, whois name was William Weston;<sup>b</sup> and that yere was new sargeantes of the queff<sup>c</sup> made and kepte ther Feste at Saynt Jhons; y<sup>t</sup> summer was a hoote and drye, and of grete dethe and greete of the agew.

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Hollis, 1539.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Weston, Prior of St. John's, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, upon his hearing of the dissolution of his order.

<sup>c</sup> Coif.

M. ROCHE, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> That wynter was a very colde wynter, as was many yeris a fore. The xxvij day of May, Fryday, was the Countes of Salisbery beheddid w<sup>t</sup> in the Towr. The xxviiij day of June, Tewisday, was my Lord Lenard, Markes<sup>b</sup> beheddid at Towr hill. The xxix day of June, Wensday, Saynt Peturs day, was my lorde Dakars of the Southe led be twene bothe the scherevis of London a fote from the Towr to Tiburn, and there was he hanggid. That yere the Kyng rode in progress to Yorke, and all the contre a boutte. That yere was take down y<sup>e</sup> loft in Polles, where yn stode y<sup>e</sup> Roode of Northor,<sup>c</sup> and Saynt Artnolles<sup>d</sup> schryne in Polles, and Saynt Edwardes schryne at Westm'. And the saide lorde Dakars a bove saide was beryid in Saynt Powlkurs church, and y<sup>e</sup> said lord Dakars a bove saide was hanggid for robbre of y<sup>e</sup> Kyngges deer and murthur of y<sup>e</sup> Kepars.

M. DORMOR, Mayir.<sup>e</sup> The x day of Desseember, Satterday, was M. Cowlpeppur, and M. Duran, drawn from the Towr to Tiburn. Cowlpeppur was heddid and Duran was hanggid and quartarid, both them for playing the harlottes w<sup>t</sup> with queen Kataryn that then was. The xiiij day of Febreuary, Monday, was queene Kataryn and my lady Rocheford beheddid, bothe in y<sup>e</sup> Towr of London. The xvij day of Marche, Fryday, was a mayde<sup>f</sup> boylde in Smythfeld, in a grete led,<sup>g</sup> for poysenyng of many y<sup>t</sup> she had doon. This yere came out of Erlond the Erll of Desmond, the great Aneelle,<sup>h</sup> and other grete lordes of Erlond, and did submyt them self to ou<sup>r</sup> Kyng: and this yere the Dewke of Norfocke, and other Erlls and lordes,

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Roche, 1540.

<sup>b</sup> Here the chronicler would appear to have made a slight ellipsis: Lord Lenard, Markes [Dorset's brother]. Lord Leonard Grey (son of Thomas 1st Marquess), created Viscount Graney, beheaded for high treason.

<sup>c</sup> Over this in the original is written in another hand *Northdore*.

<sup>d</sup> Probably St. Erkenwald's.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Michael Dormer, 1541.

<sup>f</sup> Margaret Davy.

<sup>g</sup> Leaden vat or caldron.

<sup>h</sup> O'Neil, created on that occasion Earl of Tyrone.



w<sup>t</sup> a grete army of men, [went] in to Scotland. This yere was Chauncere lane, and Fayter lane, and Scho lane, all thorow pavid; and this yere was the new chambers bildid in Tempulle garden; and alle this summer was a cold summer and wete.

M. COTES, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> Then came in to Englund Kyng Jamys of Skotland, w<sup>t</sup> a pouar of men, after Alhalowtide, and one Johan a Musgrave, w<sup>t</sup> his company, met w<sup>t</sup> hym, and in that skyrmyssche y<sup>e</sup> Kyng was hurte or drounde, and there was takyn of y<sup>e</sup> Skottes xxj or xxij presonars, that is to say, ij erlles, vj lordes, and alle y<sup>e</sup> othur knyghtis and jentilmen, and they were brought to y<sup>e</sup> Kyng to London y<sup>e</sup> xix day of Dessember. In the monthe of July the Kyng did mary w<sup>t</sup> my lady Kataryn Latemer, wedow, and made her queen. And this wynter was a colde wynter; hit began a fore Cristmas and lastid till Ester Monday, of and on, and of grete dethe, and parte of mighellmas terme was kepte at Saynt Albons; how be hit that M. Bowear was at that tyme Mayir, for the terme began after Alhalowtide, by cause of y<sup>e</sup> grete dethe y<sup>t</sup> was the summer be fore.

M. BOWEAR and M. WARREN, Mayr̃s.<sup>b</sup> This yere dyid in his bed at Crichurch, Sir John Audeley, lord Chauncelar of Ingland, and M. Bowear being Mayir. This yere was moche harm doon in Skotland, as Edynborow and othur townys burnd and spoylid. And this yere the suffragis<sup>c</sup> that longgid to the lateny was songe in Englissche tounge. And this yere y<sup>e</sup> Kyng, in the monthe of July,<sup>d</sup> went in to Fraunce w<sup>t</sup> a grete powar of men. And this yere was the yere of ou<sup>r</sup> lord God 1544, and the xxxvj yere of the Reng of Kyng Hary the viij; and this yere was Bullen<sup>e</sup> won and gevyn up. And this yere was the Angelle nobulle reysyd to viij s'.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Cotes, 1542.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Bowyer, Sir Ralphe Warren, 1543.

<sup>c</sup> Prayers.

<sup>d</sup> 13th July.

<sup>e</sup> July 29th.

<sup>f</sup> By proclamation on the 16th of May. The first raising of the angel noble was in 1526. (Grafton's Chronicle.)

M. LAXTON, Mayir.<sup>a</sup> This yere was Jhūs stepulle, y<sup>t</sup> stode in Polles churche yerde, take down, and no wathe kepte at Midsomer, nor Midsomer terme kepte. The xxij day of August dyid in his bed in Gilford the Dewke of Suffocke, whois name was Charlus Brandon. The xij day of September, Satterday, in y<sup>e</sup> mornyng a boutte five of the klokke, was Saynt Jylis churche burnd, belles and alle, w<sup>t</sup>oute Crepille gate. The viij day of Octobar, Thursday, at nyght, aboute vij a klokke, was a ship of a nothur cuntre burnd at Blacke walle thorow mysse fortune of fyir.

M. Bowss [Mayir].<sup>b</sup> This yere dyid my lorde Bawdwyn, chefe Justes of the coñen place: then did my lorde Muntegew, whiche was chefe Justes of the Kyngges benche, make labo<sup>r</sup> for to be chefe Justes of the coñen place, and so he was. Then was my lorde chefe baarn of the Kyngges Exchequer, whois name was Lister, made chefe Justes of y<sup>e</sup> Kyngges bench and sargeant, alle on oone day, the ix day off November, Monday, in the yere of ou<sup>r</sup> Lorde God xv<sup>c</sup>xlv, in the xxxvij yere of the Reng of K. H. the viij.

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Laxton, 1544.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Martin Bowes, 1545.

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THE EXPENSES  
OF  
THE JUDGES OF ASSIZE

RIDING THE  
WESTERN AND OXFORD CIRCUITS,

TEMP. ELIZABETH, 1596—1601.

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EDITED,  
FROM THE MS. ACCOUNT BOOK OF THOMAS WALMYSLEY,  
ONE OF THE JUSTICES OF THE COMMON PLEAS,  
BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.L.VIII.





## INTRODUCTION.

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THE following pages contain particulars of the Accounts of Thomas Walmysley, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1589 to 1612,\* on his riding the Western Circuit with Edward Fenner, one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench,† at the autumn and spring assizes, in every year, from July 1596 to March 1601; and also the account of Thomas Walmysley on his riding the Oxford Circuit with Peter Warburton, another Justice of the Common Pleas,‡ in the autumn of the year 1601. On Sir Thomas Walmysley's monument at Blackburn it was recorded, that during the twenty-three years of his tenure of office he went "all the ceruets of England, except Norfolk and Suffolk." §

The accounts themselves are contained in a pocket volume, bound in vellum, and written by two persons, who had the supervision of the whole expenditure. The original MS. which came from the papers belonging to the family of Lord Petre, descendants of Mr. Justice Walmysley, has been lent to me by Mr. William Harper, of Bury, Lancashire. I have given the accounts of the first Western Circuit, and also of the Oxford Circuit, without abridgement. On the other visits upon the Western Circuit I have given only a statement of the presents made to the Judges, and any thing particularly worthy of note in the purchases.

At the time of these accounts the Act which prohibited a Judge

\* See Foss' Judges, vol. vi. p. 191.

† Ibid. p. 152.

‡ Ibid. p. 195.

§ Baines' Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 313.

from holding the assizes on any circuit of which he was a native, or inhabited,\* was in full force; but it is worthy of remark that the same two Judges should have holden every assize for the same circuit during five consecutive years. The same country gentlemen repeated their presents circuit after circuit, and there can be little doubt that the intimacy between the Judges and the gentry could have been little less than would have occurred had the Judge sat once on a circuit in one town of his native county. On many occasions, however, licence was given to the Judge to go the circuit in which was his native county. During the Commonwealth the Parliament directed Serjeant, afterwards Baron Thorpe, who was born in Yorkshire,† to go the Northern Circuit, in the spring of 1648–9, the commission to be with a *non obstante*;‡ and in the Council Book of the same period there is an order, extending the exemption to all the Judges. The prohibition has been repealed, and to prevent any mischief from the constant visits of the Judges to the same assize towns, the rule has obtained that a Judge shall not choose the same circuit on two successive assizes.

At the close of Elizabeth's reign the name and the fact of "riding" the circuit were identical. For the Western Circuit the judges and their officers started on horseback from Holborn, and thence proceeded from town to town. Where the distance between any two places was great they rested at some gentleman's house, or at some intermediate town. Thus, on the way to Winchester, the Judges usually slept at Mr. Rudiard's house at Hatley, or sometimes at Mr. Wallopp's at Farley; or at the Bishop of Winchester's; or, on the road to Andover, at Mr. Palmer's at Overton; they slept also

\* 33 Hen. VIII. c. 24, re-enacting a statute of Rich. II. and adding a penalty of 100*l.* for every offence.

† Foss' Judges, vol. vi. p. 493.

‡ Com. Jour. vi. p. 148.

at the Marquess of Winchester's, between Winchester and Andover; at Sir Richard Rogers's, or Mr. Morton's, between Salisbury and Dorchester; at Mr. Speke's, between Dorchester and Exeter; at Mr. Elveston's, at Lyme Regis; at Mr. Fulford's, or at Mr. Serjeant Glanville's, between Exeter and Launceston; at Mr. Gale's, at Kirton; at Mr. Monk's, or at Mr. Stuckley's, or at Mr. Jennings', or at Mr. Berry's, on the way between Launceston and Taunton; or at Mr. Drake's, on the road from Chard to Exeter. Whilst on the Oxford Circuit they partook of the hospitality of Mr. Savage at Bridgnorth, of Mr. Pitt on the way between Hereford and Worcester, and of Mr. Owen on the road between Shrewsbury and Stafford.

At the houses of these private gentlemen the only expenses incurred were for vails to the servants, usually amounting to half a crown each to the cook, the butler, and the stablemen, and something less for the chamberlain. In some of the towns, also, the Judges were provided for; at Bridgnorth by the bailiffs; at Burford by the aldermen and townsmen; and at Blandford by a plentiful supply from Mr. Swaine.

In the assize towns the expenses of the Judges were in two parts. 1. The joint charges, including the rewards for presents sent, and the payments for lodgings, and all other expenses of the household; and 2. The private charge against each Judge for the keep of the horses, the lodging of the grooms, and the general costs of the stable. Occasionally, however, the provision for the horses was furnished by the sheriff: several times in Devonshire by the clerk of assize: and once at Hereford by Mr. Walwyn, "the lawyer."

An Order in Council in February, 1574, had relieved the sheriffs from the charge of the Judges' diet, yet the sheriff of each county sent large presents of fish, flesh, and fowl for the use of the Judges;

and in Devonshire that officer regularly supplied the suppers, and on many days the dinners: in every county some of the mayors of towns and other public bodies, and the principal country gentlemen, also sent presents of like provisions in quantities so ample, that the tables of the Queen's representatives must have been extremely well furnished. Accordingly, we find that bread, flour, eggs, butter, vegetables, firewood, the grocers' bills, beer, and wine, formed the largest items of expenditure.

The presents to the Judges on circuit have now nearly ceased. The sheriff sometimes sends venison or beer, and some customary gifts are still made in particular towns; as at Oxford, where the Judges are on every circuit presented with a pair of white gloves trimmed with gold; and at Cambridge the stirrup-cup is yet given by the Master of Trinity on the Judges' departure. In most counties at a maiden assize the sheriff provides white gloves for the Judge.

The accounts for Devonshire show also the bills of fare for dinner and supper on most of the days, and demonstrate how the inconvenience of an entire day's fish fasting in Lent was ingeniously avoided, by having the fish supper on the Tuesday and Thursday after a hearty meat dinner, and on the Wednesday and Friday adding a substantial meat supper to the abstinence from flesh at dinner.

The maritime counties enabled the country gentlemen to make presents of nearly every species of sea-fish, as well as fresh-water fish from their own ponds and lakes. Among the sea-fish, whether new or salted and dried, we find several sorts not now used at table, and some of which the names have been nearly lost.

FISH.—Of the *sturgeon*, pieces were sent at Taunton, Dorchester, and Exeter; an isle at Salisbury and Stafford, and a keg at Mon-



mouth and Shrewsbury. The *salmon* was usual in February and in July in all the western counties, and at Monmouth and Shrewsbury; an isle came to Chard and Salisbury, and salt salmon in February to Winchester and Launceston. *Salmon peale* were also general in the West and at Gloucester. The *shewings*, or sea-trout, appear at Hereford. The *dolphin* appears once at Dorchester in February; a piece of *porpoise* (to be roasted or cooked like the sturgeon) once at Launceston; and the *dory* at Oakhampton and Taunton. The *conger* was eaten at Taunton, Oakhampton, and Exeter, and an isle of it found its way to Dorchester. The *cod* was used fresh, and also salted and dried, and a cod's head is not unfrequent; whilst the *milwell*, a fish allied to the cod, appears in Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, as a whole fish in some instances, and in an isle, and also dried, in Devonshire. *Turbot* were not very frequent, but are mentioned at Taunton, Dorchester, and Exeter. *Braymes* were used at Exeter and Gloucester; *Basse*, or sea-perch, at Exeter, Salisbury, and Dorchester, and also at Reading; *Mulletts* were not unfrequent; and *soles*, *plaiice*, *haddock*, *herrings*, *whiting*, the *thornback* or *scate*, and *sprats*, were common.

The other dried fish were the *buckthorn*, or whiting, split and dried; the *haberdine*, or salt cod; *ling* of various sorts, viz. the London, Devonshire, organ, and green salt ling; *herrings*; and the dried and salted *hake* once (February 1598) at Winchester, called in the account "a drie fish called *Poor John*," and most contemptuously treated by Shakespeare.

'Tis well thou art not fish; if thou hadst, thou hadst been *poor John*.

GREGORY—*Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Scene 1.

What have we here? A man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish, a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest *poor John*.

TRINCULO—*Tempest*, Act II. Scene 2.

The shell-fish included *oysters* of two sorts—one called at Salisbury and Chard the “long oyster;” *lobsters*, *crabs*, *shrimps*, *cockles*, *mussels*, *whelks*, the *razor-fish* once, and *crawfish* plentiful.

The fresh-water fish were the *Thames trout* at Reading, and *trout* frequently elsewhere; the *pike*, *carp*, *tench*, *perch*, *roach*, *flounders*, *barbel*; *lampreys* in February at Winchester, Salisbury, and Taunton; *eels* generally, and Holland eels at Winchester, and Flanders at Exeter.

MEAT.—The most general present from those gentlemen who had parks was a *buck*, but the venison was mostly baked, not roasted: sometimes the *doe* and *stag* appear. *Beef* was very seldom used; the working of the oxen on the farms and the milking of the cows gave little beef for the butcher, yet occasionally we meet with a loin, a chine, or a pood; “a *veal*,” however, is of constant occurrence, and on many occasions calves’ feet. “A MUTTON,” the old and distinguishing term for the dead sheep, is found at every place: *lambs* in the spring and also in the summer, and a favourite dish was a lamb’s “appurtenances,” or fry. A *pig*, a collar of *brawn*, and a roasting-pig, are likewise on the list. *Kids* are also met with, once at Winchester, given by the sheriff; several times at Launceston, as presents from Mr. Trelawny; and in all the assize towns on the Oxford circuit, from Oxford to Shrewsbury, no less than five having been given at Monmouth.

FOWL was of all kinds. We do not now dress the *bustard*, one of which was given at Salisbury by Mr. Edward Penruddock in June 1600; or the *heron*, given at Dorchester and Taunton; or the *heronshawes*,\* which came in at Salisbury, Dorchester, Exeter, and

\* Sauce gallantine for porpoise, heronshawe, and curlews. “Hérons, curlews, crane, bittern, bustard, be at all times good, but best in winter.” A proper new Booke of Cookery, 1575.



Launceston, and also at Oxford and Stafford (of which the bodies without the legs were stuffed and roasted); or the *curlew*, which was furnished at Chard, Dorchester, and Exeter; or the *gull*,\* which was relished in the two latter towns as well as in Salisbury and Launceston; or the *puffin*, which was a rarity met with in Cornwall alone; or the *kite* cooked at Exeter. Other birds find their way to our table. The *peacock*† was once dressed at Chard in July: the *swan* in February graced the table at Winchester, Salisbury, Andover, Taunton, and Dorchester, and two *cygnets* at Oxford. *Turkeys*, then a rare bird, were presented on the earliest circuit by the sheriff, Mr. Trelawny, and Mr. Sharock, in Cornwall; subsequently by the sheriff, Sir W. Sanders, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Kingsmill, in Hants; in 1600 at Winchester, Dorchester, and Exeter; and young turkeys in July, 1601, by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. *Geese* were cooked in February, and green geese at Winchester and Dorchester in July.‡ *Ducks* and ducklings, *larks*, *pigeons*, *capons*, *chicken*, *pullets*, even *hens* and *sparrows*, added to the store.

Nor was game and wild-fowl deficient. The *heath-poults*, now seldom met with in the West, were sent as presents at Salisbury, Dorchester, and Stafford; and the *heath-cock* at Launceston. *Pheasants*,§ of which there were not many, and *partridges*, which were abundant, were killed on both circuits in the months of June

\* Mustard and vinegar sauce for malard, teal, gulls, and storks.—The Booke of Cookerie, 1575.

† Wine and salt sauce for peacocks and capons. "Peacocks be ever good, but when they be young, and of a good stature, they be as good as fesant, and so be young groucis."—Ibid. To carve a crane, peacock, stork, bustard, and shoveller, "raise the winges first, and beware of the trumpe in his brest, and let the feete be on stil."—The Booke of Kervinge, 1508.

‡ Sorel sauce for a green goose, and mustard and vinegar for a stubble goose.—Booke of Cookerie, 1575.

§ Sauce, water and salt and onions stewed.—Ibid.

and July, and also in February. *Quails*, now very scarce, formed a portion of the presents in each of the Western assize towns and at Oxford. *Plover*, golden and green, arrived at Taunton and Exeter; *puetts* at Winchester, Salisbury, Dorchester, Exeter, and Oxford, Worcester, and Stafford; and a dozen oxen and kyne, "being birds," (ruffs and reeves?) appear once in July at Exeter. These, with *widgeon*, *teal*, *woodcocks*,\* and *snipes*, made the delicacies in this department.

The West of England has long been famous for its *pies* of every sort—meat, fish, fruit, and vegetable; and these accounts give us a very favourable opinion of proficiency in this line, when we find the true distinction drawn between *pasties* (the crust baked without a dish) of red deer and venison: *tarts* of quince, apple, cherry, and custard: and *pies* proper, composed of a gammon of bacon, calves' feet, neat's tongue, lamb, swan, turkey, pheasant, goose, capon, chicken, pigeon, salmon, trout, carp, lamprey, quince, pippin, apple, and down to the pie, which still holds its own in Devonshire, the *potato*, given at Exeter in February, 1601, and the only instance in which that new root is mentioned. These varieties have given rise to the popular saying that if the old gentleman himself were caught in Devonshire he would be clapped into a pie.

The VEGETABLES consisted of roots and salads in every town: the names are not stated; but oil, vinegar, and verjuice (the acid of the crab-apple), were provided for the salads. *Artichokes* were rarities which were sent as presents; *peas*, *beans*, *onions*, and *radishes* are common; *parsnips* also occur; *carrots* are named only at Exeter; and *samphire* at Chard, Dorchester, and Exeter.

\* Served with mustard and sugar.

The FRUIT included *oranges* in the month of July as well as of February; *lemons* in July; *cherries* 4*d.* a pound; *apples* plain, baked, and stewed; *pears*, *strawberries*, *gooseberries*, at Salisbury and Dorchester; and *raspberries* once only at Gloucester.

*Cheese* formed part of the dessert, and accordingly we find it mixed up in the purchases of cherries, strawberries, apples, and other fruit: the sorts are not generally distinguished: we meet, however, with an Holland cheese at Dorchester and with a Lantony cheese at Gloucester.

At Exeter and Launceston alone we discover presents of boxes of *marmalade*, and at Exeter plates of *jelly*.

The accounts are not in sufficient detail to enable me to give the prices of many of the articles bought. *Butter* varied in price; the ordinary cost being 4*d.* a pound in summer and 6*d.* in the spring: and candles cost 5*d.* a pound.

BEER was the great drink and was most plentifully supplied; 89 gallons were consumed in three days at Winchester, 90 gallons in two days at Salisbury, a butt in five days at Chard and Exeter; the sheriffs usually sent a portion, but where that fell short of the demand purchases were made at a cost of 5*s.* or 6*s.* a barrel. In July, 1597, two shillings, representing 12 gallons of beer, were paid between Oakhampton and Launceston "in the extreme heat." Small beer was carefully avoided: its name very seldom appears, and when it does its cost was one-third of the best beer.

WINE\* was sometimes sent among the presents; more commonly it was purchased: here, however, the sorts and quantities are seldom

\* See "A new booke of the natures and properties of all wines that are commonly used here in England," by William Turner, 1568, dedicated to Sir William Cecil. Sack, malmesey, muscadell, and claret from France and Gascony were the wines most used in England. There was a prejudice against Rhenish.

distinguished: the cost varied at the different towns, as much as 12s. 6d. being paid at Winchester: 8s. or 9s. was the ordinary cost; in Cornwall it was as low as 3s., 4d.; and 2s. 9d. at Stafford. *Wine* and *sugar* are frequently put together in the accounts in one item, and are so distinguished from *sack*,\* of which four pints were bought at Salisbury; and the sheriff of Devonshire presented on one occasion a pint; on another a tierce, or 42 gallons; and on another a rundlet, or 18 gallons; whilst Mr. Denys sent a pottle, or two quarts, at Gloucester. *Claret* was also bought at Salisbury; the sheriff of Devon sent three gallons on one circuit, a firkin, a tierce, and so much as a hogshhead, or 63 gallons, on other occasions, and Dr. Martyn at Oxford a rundlet. The only other wine distinguished by a name is called *Rhenish*, of which a rundlet was presented once at Exeter, and two bottles at Monmouth. Throughout the several circuits the cost of the wine was not more than one-third the expense for the beer, and in some places it was classed with articles of less importance, appearing in the same item with strawberries at Dorchester, and sinking once at Salisbury so low as to be included with small beer: hence I assume that home-made and sweet wines were usually drank, and that foreign wines were not commonly on the table.

At Worcester only were the Judges reduced to the extremity of paying for *water*.

The accounts do not furnish many other items worthy of particular comment; I will only note that Mr. Justice Fenner seems to have been the most jovial of the two, for it was his cook who went the circuit, and it was by his desire that a reward was given for the sport of coursing a buck between Salisbury and Blandford; that the

\* See "Notes and Queries," 2nd Series, vol. iv. p. 330.



city waits of Hereford had their reward for welcoming the administrators of the law; and that the poor came badly off on the Western and still worse off on the Oxford circuit: on the Western they received 20*d.* at every town in the summer from each Judge, and 3*s.* 4*d.* in the spring circuits from the joint purse, except once at Exeter, when the amount was doubled; but on the Oxford summer circuit they had only 2*s.* in every town as a joint contribution, or a shilling from each Judge.

The assizes for Hants were commonly held at Winchester Castle, but sometimes at Andover: the Somersetshire were most frequently held at Chard, though some were held at Taunton Castle, and on those occasions the assizes for this county were held after those for Cornwall, whilst the Chard sittings preceded the Exeter; where also the circuit upon some occasions ended, the county of Cornwall being altogether left out; and in the spring circuit of 1597 no assizes were held either for Devon or Cornwall.

By the Lansdowne MS. (53, Art. 92) it appears that Sir Roger Manwood and Justice William Periam were the Judges on the Western circuit in the spring of 1587, and had an allowance of 6*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* a-day for diet, &c. during the twenty-six days which the circuit lasted, making altogether 178*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* The first commission day on the circuit of Thos. Walmysley, in 1596, was the 5th July, and the last the 26th, so that about the same number of days were taken on the circuit. The first commission day in the summer of 1857 was 11th July, and the last 8th August. The Oxford circuit of 1587 was ridden by William Ayloff and Francis Windham; it lasted twenty-eight days: their allowance was 6*l.* 2*s.* a-day for diet, &c. and the total sum paid to them was 170*l.* 16*s.* The first commission day in 1601 was 10th July, and the last 3rd August:

the circuit, therefore, lasted nearly a month. The first commission day in the summer circuit in 1857 was 9th July, and the last 5th August.

The Western circuit seems to have caused trouble to the Judges, since, in 1586, a declaration was drawn up "of the course used and nedefull to be used by the Judges in the Western circuite in the delivery of the gaole and triall of nisi prius" (Lansd. MS. 49, Art. 23), wherein it is stated that where there fell a matter of importance or difficulty, were it for life or other cause, the Judges sat together; that few prisoners were indicted the first day, so that the Judges sat at nisi prius; that the number of prisoners in Somerset and Devon was very many, and the gaol delivery most commonly continued very nearly during the whole assize, so that, if the Judges always sat together, few trials at nisi prius could take place; that the gaol delivery was often delayed, because even during the last half-day many were indicted, owing to delay in the evidence, or on the part of the justices of the peace; and that if the Judges always sat together, and the assizes were thereby prolonged, the people would not tarry, for by experience it was found that towards the end of the assizes it was hard to find a jury for the trial of any one cause.

The names of the sheriffs from 1597 are given in the MS., and enable me to correct the lists usually printed for Cornwall, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire.

W. D. C.

81, Guilford Street, Russell Square,  
London, 4th November, 1857.



## WESTERN CIRCUIT.

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In circuitu THOME WALMYSLEY, unius Justiĉ dñe Regine de Banco: et Edwardi Fenner, unius Justiĉ iþius dñe Regine ad pñta coram iþa Regina tenend assign, Justiĉ ejusdem dñe Regine ad assias in coñ Suthĉ, Wiltes, Dorsett, Soñsett, Devoñ, et Cornuþ, inceptĉ apud castrum Winton, in coñ Suthĉ, quinto die Julii, anno regni Elizabeth R<sup>ne</sup> xxxvii<sup>o</sup>, 1596.—Autumn, anno xxxvii<sup>o</sup> Eliz.

### Suthĉ.—Presents at Winchester.

Imprimis of Mr. MAIOR of WINTON and his brethren, one mutton, one veale . . . . .	nil
Of Mr. NORTON, one bucke, the rewarde . . . . .	v s.
Of my L. BISHOPP of WINTON, one bucke . . . . .	v s.
Of Mr. TICHBORNE, two capons, iiij rabetts, and iiij pewetts, the rewarde . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. PASHION, one freshe samon . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. KIRBY, one freshe samon and vj puetts, the rewarde . . . . .	xij d.
Of Sir THOMAS WESTE, one freshe samon and one samon-peale . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. GIFFORDE, one buck and six coople of conyes, the rewarde . . . . .	v s.
Of Mr. SHERIFF,* half a buck and one freshe samon . . . . .	nil
From the COLLEDGE of WINTON, one mutton, the rewarde . . . . .	vj d.
Of the LORD MARQUES of WINCHESTER, one bucke, the rewarde . . . . .	v s.
Sūma for p'sents at Winchester . . . . .	xxiiij s. vj d.

### Provision bought at Winchester.

Imp'mis three quarters of lambe . . . . .	It. a strayner . . . . .	vj d.
. . . . . iiij s. ij d.	It. two capons . . . . .	xxij d.
It. a rostinge-pigge . . . . . xvij d.	It. a quarter of veale . . . . .	ij s. iiij d.
It. for capers and olives . . . . . vj d.	It. for suett . . . . .	iiij d.

\* Robert Oxenbridge, Esq. of Husborne. Full notices of this family are given in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. viii. p. 214.

It. a neates foote and tripes	vj d.	It. a paire of calves feete	. . . . . ij d.
It. for two pulletts and viij chickings	. . . . .	It. for bacon	. . . . . vj d.
	iiij s. x d.	It. yo <sup>r</sup> LL. chambers	. . . . . xx s.
It. for bread and flower, viz. iiij bushels and three pecks	xxvj s. vj d.	It. to the butler	. . . . . ij s. vj d.
It. five barrells and one firkyn of beere,	. . . . .	It. to the helps in the kitchen	. . . . . iiij s. vj d.
at v s. the barrell	xxvij s. vj d.	It. to the turnespitt	. . . . . xij d.
It. wood and coles	. . . . . xj s.	It. to the porter	. . . . . ij s.
It. butter, tenne pounds	iiij s. iiij d.	It. to Mr. WHITE's man that waited	. . . . . xij d.
It. for egges	. . . . . xij d.	It. the grocer's bill	. . . . . vj s.
It. for iiij chickings	. . . . . xx d.	It. for wyne	. . . . . vij s.
It. salt and candles	. . . . . xx d.		
It. peases	. . . . . ij s. vj d.		
Sūma tot'lis of joynt chardges at Wynchester		. vij l. xvij s. x d.	
Medietatis inde		. . . . . iiij l. xvij s. xj d.	

Wiltēs.—Assis tenē apud Novam Sarū in cōm p̄dco octavo die Julii, a<sup>o</sup> xxxvij<sup>o</sup> Eliz. Rne. 1596<sup>o</sup>.

Wiltēs.—Presents at Newe Sarū.

Imprimis of Mr. MAIOR of SARU', one mutton and two capons, the reward	. . . . . nil
Of Mr. SHERIFF of WILTES,* one mutton, one lambe, one hoggesheade of beare, vj quayles, iiij coople of conyes, and half a buck, the reward	xvij d.
Of Mr. BAYNTON, one buck, iiij coople of rabetts, the rewarde	. . . . . v s.
Of my LORD of HERTFORD, 2 bucks	. . . . . viij s.
Of my LORD of PEMBROOKE, one buck	. . . . . v s.
Of Mr. GIFFORD, iiij herneshawes	. . . . . xij d.
Of Mr. LEWYS, the clarke of assizes, one isle of sturgeon, the reward	vj d.
Of Mr. WHITACRES, iiij capons	. . . . . xij d.
Of Mr. WILLOUGHBY, one freshe samon	. . . . . nil
Sūma for presents at Saru'	. . . . . xvij s.

Provision bought at Sarū.

Imp'mis, one quarter of veale, one q <sup>r</sup>	It. one quarter of lambe	. . . . . xij d.
of mutton, and ij paire of calves	It. salt, otemeale, and onyons	xiiij d.
feete	It. butter and egges and peases	iiij s.
		v s.

\* Henry Sadler, Esq. of Everley.

It. for cherries, iij pounds . . .	xij d.	It. xvij dozen of bread, and one	
It. five chickings . . .	xv d.	bushell of flower . . .	xxij s. vj d.
It. a brest and a rack of veale, and		It. ij kilderkynnes of beare . . .	v s. iij d.
two paire of calves' feete . . .	ij s. iij d.	It. wood and coles . . .	xj s. ij d.
It. for hearbes . . .	xij d.	It. the grocer's bill . . .	ix s. vij d.
It. suett, iij poundes . . .	xij d.	It. to the helpes in the buttrie . . .	ij s.
It. vj lobsters, viij mulletts and bace,		It. to the porter . . .	ij s.
ij crabbes, and ij soales . . .	vij s. x d.	It. to the helpes in the kitchen	
It. iiij quarts of <i>clarett</i> wyne, and			iiij s. x d.
iiij pynts of <i>sacke</i> . . .	iiij s. iij d.	It. to Mr. TUCKER's s'uants . . .	ij s.
Sūma totalis of ioynt chardges at Sarū . . .			v li. xj s. x d.
Medietas inde . . .			lv s. xj d.

Dorsht ₧s.—Ab Blandford forum, where yo<sup>r</sup> LL. laie, x<sup>o</sup> Julii,  
a<sup>o</sup> Eliz. xxxvii<sup>o</sup>, 1596<sup>o</sup>.

Provision sent by Mr. SWAYNE, both fishe and fleshe, great store . . .	nil
It. paid for bread, beare, and beefe . . .	xv s. iij d.
It. the grocer's bill . . .	vj s.
It. to s'uants in the house . . .	xj s.
It. for wyne . . .	ij s. vj d.
Sūma of ioynt chardges at Blandford forum . . .	xxxv s. ix d.
Medietas inde . . .	xvij s. x d. ob.

Dorsht ₧s.—Assis tenē apud Dorchester, in coñ pđco, xij<sup>o</sup> die  
Julij, a<sup>o</sup> xxxvii<sup>o</sup> El.

Presents at Dorchester.

Of S <sup>r</sup> MATHEWE ARUNDELL, one buck, the reward . . .	iiij s.
Of Mr. MILLER, one mutton, halfe a veale, one lambe, v coople of	
rabetts . . .	xvij d.
Of Mr. RICHARD COLLYER, Mr. EDWARD COLLIER, and Mr. HARBYN,	
three lambes, iij capons, and vj trouts . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. JAMES HANAM, viij puetts . . .	vj d.
Of my L. MARQUES of WINTON, j buck . . .	v s.
It. of Mr. MOORTON, ij lambes, vj coople of rabetts, the reward . . .	xvij d.
Of Mr. UVEDALE, iij hernessawes, vj quailles . . .	vj d.
Of Mr. STILE, vj lobsters . . .	nil

Of Mr. HARBYN, iij artychocks and peases . . . . . vj d.  
 Of Mr. SHERIFF,\* one redd deare pie, ij rabetts, j lobster, j base, one  
*curlewe* . . . . . nil  
 Sūma for p'sents at Dorchester . . . . . xvj s. vj d.

## Provision bought at Dorchester.

Imprimis, a quarter of mutton . . . . . iij s.	It. yo <sup>r</sup> LL. chambers, and for wash-
It. wood and coles . . . . . ix s.	inge the lynnē . . . . . xxij s.
It. for beare . . . . . xxj s.	It. to the helpes in the kitchen . . . . . iij s.
It. bread and flower . . . . . xx s. vj d.	It. to the helpes in the buttrey . . . . . ij s.
It. one capon . . . . . ij s.	It. to the turnespitt . . . . . xij d.
It. for butter . . . . . iij s.	It. to the porter . . . . . ij s.
It. for egges . . . . . xvj d.	It. the grocer's bill . . . . . iij s. vj d.
It. for bakinge the veneson . . . . . xij d.	It. for cheries . . . . . viij d.
It. venegar, mustard, and salt . . . . . xij d.	It. for vj chickings . . . . . xvij d.
It. onyons and radishes . . . . . iij d.	It. for suett . . . . . xij d.
It. for artichocks . . . . . viij d.	It. for wyne . . . . . iij s. iij d.
Sūma tot'lis of ioynt chardges at Dorchester . . . . . vj li. ij s. iij d.	
Medietas inde . . . . . iij li. j s. ij d.	

Soñsett fs.—Assis tenē apud Charde, in coñ predicto, xiiij<sup>o</sup> die  
 Julij, anno regni Elizabeth R<sup>ne</sup> xxxvij<sup>o</sup>, 1596<sup>o</sup>.

## Presents at Charde.

Imp'mis of Mr. THOM'S PHILLIPPS, ij capons, viij lobsters, and iij coople  
 of rabetts . . . . . xij d.  
 It. of Mr. JOHN SIDENHAM, one freshe samon, viij trouts, and vj coople  
 of rabetts . . . . . ij s.  
 It. of Sr HUGH PORTMAN, one buck . . . . . v s.  
 It. of Mr. PYNE, halfe a mutton and halfe a veale, the rewarde . . . . . xvij d.  
 It. of Sr ANTONY PAWLETT, one buck . . . . . v s.  
 Of Mr. SHERIFF,† ij capons, ij lobsters, xij snites, one pastie, ij carpes,  
 one isle of samon . . . . . ij s.

\* Thomas Hussey, of Shapwick, Esq. For early notices of this family as founders of  
 Dureford Abbey, see Sussex Arch. Coll. vol. viii. p. 44.

† John Francis, Esq. The lists of sheriffs in Collinson's Somersetshire, and also in  
 Hutchins' Dorsetshire, are one year too early.

Of Mr. SYMONS, ij coople of capons, vj chickings, one *peacock*, the  
 reward . . . . . ij s.  
 Of Mr. WADHAM, one buck . . . . . v s.  
 Of Mr. GEORGE LUTTRELL, one buck . . . . . v s.  
 Sūma for p'sents ib'm . . . . . xxviiij s. vj d.

## Provision bought at Charde.

Imp'mis, butter and eggs	v s. iiij d.	mustard, and other sallett hearbes	
It ij lambes p'tenances, and ij paire		ijj s. vj d.	
of calves' feete, and iij poundes		It. wood and coles	vij s. vj d.
of bacon . . . . . ij s.		It. five poundes of candles	xxij d.
It. xx <sup>ti</sup> whittings, ij gurnetts, ij plaice,		It. bread and flower	xlij s.
two soales, and one crabb	v s. iij d.	It. ij hoggesheades of beare	xxxij s.
It. cheries and radishes	ij s. iij d.	It. yo <sup>r</sup> LL. chambers	xx s.
It. a q <sup>r</sup> of mutton, halfe a veale, a		It. for washinge the lynnyn	vj s. viij d.
loyne of beefe, and a calves heade		It. the grocer's bill	ix s. viij d.
	xj s. iiij d.	It. for wyne	vij s. ix d.
It. xij chickings . . . . . iij s.		It. for the s'uants in the house	iiij s. xd.
It. viij poundes of suett	ij s. viij d.	It. to the helpes in the kitchen	iiij s.
It. vinegar, salt, otemeale, onyons,		It. to the porter	ij s.
Sūma tot'lis of ioynt chardges at Charde			x li. ij s. iiij d.
Medietas inde . . . . .			v li. j s. ij d.

Devon f*s*.—Assis tenē apud Castrum Exon, in coñ predicto, xix<sup>o</sup>  
 die Julij, anno Regni Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup> xxxviiij<sup>o</sup>, 1596<sup>o</sup>.

## Presents at Exeter.

Imp'mis of Mr. SHERIFF of DEVON,\* one lambes p'tenances, a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton,  
 veale ij ioynts, a q<sup>r</sup> of lambe, a capon, a pastie of veneson, iij chickings,  
 iij quales, iiij rabetts, one duck, a gamon pie, a neat's tongue pie, for  
*Sundaie* supper.  
 It. more of him, a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, a brest of veale, a capon, a q<sup>r</sup> of lambe, iij  
 chickings, ij rabetts, one *ganny* †, iij quales, one gull, for *Mundaie* supp.  
 It. more of Mr. Sheriff, a lambes p'tin', a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, veale one ioynt, a  
 capon, ij chickings, ij ducks, ij rabetts, a q<sup>r</sup> of lambe, one tarte, one  
 gull, for *Tuesdaie* supper.

\* Edward Seymour, Esq.

† Gowbill.



It. more of him, a lambes p'tin', a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, a q<sup>r</sup> of lambe, a loyne of veale, ij chickings, and ij rabbetts, for *Wednesdaie* supp.

It. of Mr. Sheriff, a lambes p'tin', a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, a q<sup>r</sup> of lambe, a brest of veale, ij chickings, ij rabbetts, for *Thursdaie* supp.

It. of Mr. Sheriff, a lambes p'tin', a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, a brest of veale, a q<sup>r</sup> of lamb, ij chickings, ij braymes, one plaice, iiij gurnards, and iiij whittings, for *Fridaie* supp.

It. of Mr. Sheriff, halfe a buck . . . . . ij s.

It. of my LORD of BATHE, one buck . . . . . v s.

It. of Mr. BASSETT, one buck . . . . . v s.

It. of Mr. HAIDON, one buck . . . . . iiij s.

It. of Mr. NOWELL, ij capons, ij pulletts, vj pigeons, and vj artichooks, the reward . . . . . xij d.

It. of Mr. WOTTON, one freshe samon . . . . . xij d.

It. of Mr. CAREWE, of Hackum, one fresh samon and vj samon peales, the reward . . . . . xvij d.

It. of Mr. SHERIFF, two hoggesheades of beare . . . . . xij d.

It. of Mr. MANWAYRINGE, two samon pies, two peeces of turbett . . . . . nil

Sūma for p'sents at Exeter . . . . . xx s. vj d.

#### Devon.—Provision bought at Exeter.

Imp'mis, halfe a veale, halfe a mut- It. bread and flower . . . . . l s.

ton, and a loyne of beefe ix s. vj d. It. the grocer's bill . . . . . x s.

It. iiij coople of rabetts . . . . . iiij s. It. to Mr. CASWELL, that brought

It. a samon peale and a peece of Mr. SHERIFE's provision everie  
samon . . . . . xij d. daie . . . . . x s.

It. for suett . . . . . ij s. viij d. It. to the helpes in the kitchen . . . . . v s.

It. for a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, halfe a veale, It. to the turnespitt . . . . . xvij d.

and a brest of beefe . . . . . ix s. It. in the buttrie . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.

It. tenne whittings, iiij hadocks, ij It. amongst Mr. SMYTHE's men  
soales, two braymes, and fower that waited at the table and in the  
plaice . . . . . v s. iiij d. chambers . . . . . x s.

It. wyne and sugar . . . . . xvj d. It. the porter . . . . . ij s.

It. butter and eggs . . . . . x s.

Sūma tot'lis of ioynt chardges at Exeter . . . . . vij li. xv s. j d.

Medietas inde . . . . . iiij li. xvij s. vj d. ob.



Joynt chardges at Okington, beinge in the waie to Launston, where yo<sup>r</sup> LL. did dyne, xxiiij<sup>o</sup> Julij, a<sup>o</sup> xxxviiij<sup>o</sup> Eliz.

Imp'mis for bread and beare	vij s.	It. a capon	. . . ii s.
It. for a dorie	. . . xvj d.	It. for iij chickings	. . . xvij d.
It. for a gurnett	. . . vj d.	It. for butter	. . . xvj d.
It. for iiij whittings	. . . xij d.	It. for a bankett	. . . xij d.
It. for a peece of cunger	. . . xij d.	It. wyne and sugar	ij s. viij d.
It. a legge of mutton	. . . xvj d.		

Sūma tot'lis at Okington . . . . . xx s. viij d.

Medietas inde . . . . . x s. iiij d.

Cornub f<sup>s</sup>.—Assis tenē apud Castrum Launston, in cōm predict. xxvj<sup>to</sup> die Julij, anno xxxviiij<sup>o</sup> Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup>, 1596<sup>o</sup>.

#### Presents at Launceston.

Imp'mis of Mr. SHERIFFE,\* one gurnett, one soale, one hadock, one brayme, one buck, two pies, one mutton, one veale, two lambes, two turkies, one hernesshawe, vj chickings, ij ducks, iij gulles, wyne, and a hoggeshead o. beare . . . . . viij s.

It. of Mr. TRELAWNEY, one mutton, one kidd, xij chickings, ij capons, iij turkies . . . . . ij s.

It. of Mr. WRAIE, ij capons, vj chickings, and vj pigeons, the reward xij d.

It. of Mr. SHAROCK, vj gulles, vj turkies, vj rabetts, the rewarde . . . ij s.

Sūma for p'sents ib'm . . . . . xiiij s.

#### Provision bought at Launceston.

Imp'mis, a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, halfe a It. salt, vinegar, and herbes . . . ij s.

veale, a q<sup>r</sup> of lambe, and a legge It. wyne . . . . . iij s. iij d.

of mutton . . . viij s. vj d. It. firewoode . . . . . viij s.

It. iij lambes p'tenances . . . xij d. It. yo<sup>r</sup> LL. chambers . . . l s.

It. iij paire of calves feete . . . vj d. It. butter and egges . . . v s. iiij d.

It. iiij chickings . . . . . ij s. It. to the butler . . . . . iiij s.

It. one capon . . . . . xviiij d. It. to the helpes in the kitchen iiij s.

It. bread and flower . . . . . xxix s. It. to the turnespitt . . . xij d.

It. the grocer's bill . . . . . v s. x d. It. for washinge the lynnē . . . ij s.

\* Sir William Bevill, Knt.



## Dorsht.—Private chardges at Blandford.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate	. xvij s.	It. to the ostler	. . .	vj d.
It. for o <sup>r</sup> chambers	. . .	xij d.		
Sūma at Blandford	. . . . .			xviiij s. vj d.

## Dorsht.—Private chardges at Dorchester.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate	xlvi s. vj d.	It. to the poore	. . .	xx d.
It. for o <sup>r</sup> chambers	. . .	xij d.	It. to the smythe	. . .
It. to the ostler	. . .	vj d.	It. for foote oile	. . .
Sūma at Dorchester	. . . . .			l s. iiij d.

## Soñs.—Private chardges at Charde.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate there	. . . . .	liiiij s. vj d.
It. to the smythe	. . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
It. to the sadler for a newe sadle and other necessaries	. . . . .	vij s. vj d.
It. to the poore	. . . . .	xx d.
It. to the ostler	. . . . .	xij d.
It. for o <sup>r</sup> chambers	. . . . .	xij d.
Sūma at Charde	. . . . .	iiij li. x s. ij d.

## Devon.—Private chardges at Exeter.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate there	It. for o <sup>r</sup> chambers .	. xij d.	
iiij li. ij s.	It. for a horse coller	. xij d.	
It. to the smythe .	. x s.	It. for foote oile .	. iiij d.
It. to the poore .	. xx d.	It. for a mane combe	. viij d.
It. to the ostler .	. xij d.	It. for a false rayne	. iiij d.
Sūma at Exeter .	. . . . .	iiij li. xviiij s.	

Private chardges at Okington, where yo<sup>r</sup> LL. dyned, xxiiiij<sup>o</sup> die Julij, anno xxxviiij<sup>o</sup> Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup>, 1596, videl't:

For horsemeate at Okington	. . . . .	iiij s.
Sūma at Okington.	. . . . .	iiij s.

## Cornuſ.—Private chardges at Launceston.

Imp'mis for horſemeate	iiij li. ij s. x d.	It. to the oſtler	. xij d.
It. for neates foote oil	. vj d.	It. to Mr. JUSTICE FENNER's cooke,	
It. to the ſadler	. xij d.	for his paynes the whole circuite	
It. to the poore	. xx d.		xx s.

Sūma at Launceston	. . . . .	v li. vij s.
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Sūma tot'lis of private chardge in this circuite amounteth unto the some of	. . . . .	xxij li. ij s. v d.
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Sūma tot'lis of ioynt and private chardges disbursed by me in the whole circuite for my m <sup>r</sup> , his parte amounteth unto	xlviij li. j s. x d.
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It. more disbursed by me homeward from Launston unto Bristoll	lvij s. ix d.
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Sūma tot'lis, disbursed by me	. . . . .	xlix li. xi s. vij d.
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The SPRING CIRCUIT of the first four counties, holden by the same Judges, and commencing at Winchester Castle, 21st February, 39th Elizabeth, 1597.

## Southampton.—At Winchester.

Presents—of the MAYOR of WINCHESTER, 2 lings, 6 salt eels, one salt salmon, 2 whittings, 2 haddocks, and one plaice; of Mr. KIRBY, 1 fresh salmon and one lamb; of Mr. SHERIFF of HANTS,\* 1 lamb,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal, half a doe, 4 carps, cockles, and craw-fish; of Sir JOHN SEAMOR, 8 carps, 3 pike, 6 trout; of Mr. BUNCKLEY, 1 fresh salmon and 1 lamb; of Sir THOMAS WEST, one fresh salmon. The gift to the poor was 3s. 4d. on the joint charge.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, 24<sup>th</sup> February.

Presents—of the MAYOR, 1 fresh salmon, 1 pottle of wine; of my LORD of HERTFORD, 6 carps, 6 braymes; of the SHERIFF,† 2 carps, 2 barrels of beer, 1 piece of sturgeon, 1 pippin pie, 6 custards, 1 carp forced (stuffed), one trout pie, 1 salmon, 1 lamprey. Given to the poor 3s. 4d.

Presents at Blandford, on the way to Dorchester, 26th February.

Great store of fish and other provision sent by Mr. SWAYNE, councillor; of Sir RICHARD ROGERS, 2 pikes and 10 roaches.

\* Richard Norton, Esq.

† John Dautesey, Esq. of West Lavington

- Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, 28th February. .

Presents—of Mr. BROWNE, 4 carp; of Mr. CREWKERNE, 20 plaice, 20 whiting, 4 gurnets, and 1 fresh cod; of the SHERIFF,\* 2 pike, 2 carp, 1 salmon pie, 1 *dolphin*; of Mr. RICHARD COLLYER, 2 carp, 6 lobsters.

Somerset.—Assizes at Chard, 2 March.

Presents—of Mr. THOMAS, 1 pike, 1 carp; of Mr. EDWARD PHILLIPPS, 4 pike, 4 carp, 4 lobsters; of Mr. EDWARD WADHAM, 1 pike, 2 perch, 1 tench; of the SHERIFF,† 2 custards, 2 tarts, 6 whiting, 1 crab, 1 pike, 2 lobsters, 1 tench. Given to the poor, 3*s.* 4*d.*

The total of the joint charges this circuit was £33 10*s.*, and the private charges of THOMAS WALMYSLEY were £19 2*s.* 9*d.*, including the charges at Mr. RUDIARD's house on the way to Winchester.

The AUTUMN CIRCUIT of the same Judges, for the 6 Western counties, begun at Winchester Castle, 23rd June, 39th Eliz. 1597.

Southampton.—Winchester.

Presents—of the MAYOR, a gallon of wine and sugar; of my LORD M. of WINCHESTER, 1 buck; of Mr. GIFFORDE, 1 buck, and 6 couple of rabbits; of Sir JOHN SEAMOR, 3 couple of rabbits, 4 pike, 6 trout; of Mr. TICHBORNE, 2 capons, 6 trout, 2 tench, 2 perch; of Mr. SHERIFF,‡ being absent, 1 buck, 6 capons, 6 couple of rabbits, 6 partridges, 6 chickens; of Sir THOMAS WEST, 1 little salmon, 1 salmon peale; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 4 capons, 4 green geese, 4 partridges.

Wilts.—At New Sarum, 27th June.

Presents—of the EARL of PEMBROKE, 1 buck; of the EARL of HERTFORD, 1 buck and 9 couple of rabbits; of Mr. SHERIFF,§ 1 buck, 1 pasty of venison, 2 barrels of beer, 1 capon, 1 dish of larks, 1 trout, 1 tart,

\* Sir Geo. Trenchard, Knt. of Wolvey.

† Sir John Stowell, Knt.

‡ Richard Norton, Esq.

§ John Dauntsey, Esq. of Lavington.



and 1 custard; of Mr. MAYOR, 1 mutton and 2 capons; of Mr. BAYNTON, 1 buck and 6 couple of rabbits; of Mr. SMYTHE, 1 mutton, 1 veal, 9 couple of rabbits; of Mr. WHITEAKER, 1 mutton and 2 capons; of Mr. HUNGERFORD, 2 barrels of beer.

Dorset.—At Dorchester, 30th June.

Presents—of my L. MARQUES of WINCHESTER, 1 buck; of Mr. MILLER, 1 mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal, a lamb, 6 couple of rabbits, and a dish of trout; of Mr. COLLYER, 1 fresh salmon, 2 green geese, 2 ducks; of the SHERIFF,\* 1 buck, 1 lamb, 4 couple of rabbits, and ij heronshaws; of Mr. BROWNE, a dish of trout; of Mr. BOXE, 5 lobsters, 5 crabs.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle, 4 July.

Presents—of Mr. HAIDON, 1 buck; of the EARL of BATH, 1 buck; of Mr. COLLYNS, 1 salmon; of Mr. REIGNOLDES, 18 salmon peales; of Mr. SHERIFF,† 2 hogsheds of beer, and wine and sugar; and further, a neat's tongue, a lamb's purtenances, a quarter of mutton, a capon, 3 chickens, 3 quails, a quarter of lamb, a pasty of venison, a brest of veal, a piece of turbot, and a tart, for *Sunday's* supper; also more of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of mutton, a capon, 2 rabbits, 2 plovers, a lamb's purtenances, 3 quails, a brest of veal, a quarter of lamb, and a pasty of venison, for *Monday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of mutton, a capon, a quarter of lamb, a lamb's purtenances, 3 chickens, 2 rabbits, 2 plovers, 1 duck, and a brest of veal, for *Tuesday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of mutton, a capon, a lamb's purtenances, 2 rabbits, 2 plovers, 12 "*oxen and kyne, beinge birdes*," 3 chickens, a quarter of lamb, and a brest of veal, for *Thursday's* supper. Given to the poor, 6s. 8d.; at all the other places on the circuit it was only half that sum.

Charges at Okington, where the Judges dined, 8th July; for the dinner, 3ls., and for beer between Okington and Launceston "*in the extreame heate*," 2s.

\* Sir Geo. Trenchard, Knt.

† William Walrond, Esq.

## Cornwall.—Assizes at Launceston Castle, 8th July.

Presents—of Mr. CURRYTON,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck; of Mr. SHARROCK, a dish of sea fish; of Mr. WRAY, 4 capons; of Mr. HENDER, 6 gulls, 6 *puffins*; of Mr. CARYE, of Antony, 3 bases and 3 mullets; of Mr. TRELAWNEY, 1 kid, 12 chickens, 4 young gannies,\* 2 gulls, 2 capons, 3 salmon peal; of Mr. SHERIFF,† 1 mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal, 2 capons, 1 lamb, and a dish of fish.

## Somerset.—Assizes at Taunton Castle, 13th July.

Presents—of Mr. WADHAM, 1 buck; of Mr. LUTTRELL, 1 buck; of Mr. HOPTON, 1 buck; of Mr. PHILLIPPS (Edward the lawyer‡), 12 rabbits, 12 lobsters, 6 crabs; of Mr. THOMAS PHILLIPS, 6 rabbits, 6 lobsters, 1 conger, 1 crab; of the SHERIFF,§ 2 pieces of beef, 3 gurnets, 1 dorey, 3 carps, 5 haddocks, 2 eels, 2 bream, 2 soles, 2 plaice, 2 perch, and a piece of sturgeon, for *Thursday's* supper: more of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of lamb, a piece of old ling, 3 buckthorns,|| 2 gurnets,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a turbot, 2 lobsters, 1 carp, 2 eels, 1 dorey, 1 bream, for *Saturday's* supper.

Total joint charges of this autumn circuit, £45 1s. 9d.

THOMAS WALMYSLEY's private charges, including charges at Bagshot, and Mr. RUDIARD's house, on the way to Winchester; at Mr. MORETON's house, on the way to Dorchester; at Lyme Regis, on the way to Exeter, at Mr. SERJEANT GLANVILLE's house; and at Mr. BAMFIELD's, between Launceston and Taunton, £20 10s. 10d.

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The SPRING ASSIZES of the same Judges, for the same 6 Western counties, begun at Andover 20th February, 40th Eliz. 1597-8.

## Southampton.—Marcus Steward, Sheriff.—Andover.

Presents—of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 veal, 3 lambs, 4 pheasants, 6 partridges, 6 capons, 6 hens, and 2 turkeys, a swan sent afterwards; of Mr. GIFFORD, 1 lamb, 4 hens, 2 collers of brawn, 2 pheasants, 1 goose-pie,

\* Gowbills.

† William Wrey, Esq.

‡ Of Barrington, Somerset, King's Serjeant 1603, and Master of the Rolls 1611. Foss, vol. vi. 175.

§ Sir John Stowell, Knt.

|| Split and dried whittings.

1 turkey-pie, and 4 partridges; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 6 capons, 4 pheasants, 6 partridges, 2 turkeys; of Mr. WALLOPP, 2 lambs; of Mr. SALMON, 4 trout; of the BAILIFFS of ANDOVER, 1 veal and 1 lamb; of Mr. ST. JOHNS, 2 turkeys and 4 partridges; of Mr. SERJEANT KINGSMELL,\* 1 doe, 1 fresh salmon, 1 doz. of birds, 1 swan, 1 goose, 6 woodcocks, 1 turkey, 8 rabbits, 4 hens, 4 partridges, 5 snipes, and 1 roasting pig; of Mr. KINGSMELL, scrivener, 1 collar of brawn, 1 turkey, 1 pheasant, 2 hens, and 2 partridges.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, 23rd Feb. Sir James Marvyn, Knt. of Fonthill, Sheriff.†

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR, 1 mutton and 2 capons; of Mr. SMYTHE, 1 veal and 1 mutton; of Mr. GAWEN, 1 lamb, 1 couple of rabbits, and 2 hens; of Mr. BAYNTON, 1 lamb, 4 capons; of Mr. WHITEACRES, 1 mutton; of Mr. MOORE, 12 widgeons, 10 quails, 1 pheasant, 1 teal, 2 *lamprey*-pies; of Mr. PHILLIPPS, 1 lamb, 1 pheasant; of the Earl of HERTFORD, 4 carp and 6 bream; of Mr. GIFFORD, 1 great pike; of Mr. DELWAY, 2 pheasants; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 barrels of beer.

Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, 27th Feb. Thomas Freke, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 mutton, 1 lamb, 4 capons, 8 hens, 2 pheasants, a doz. of quails, 1 turkey pie, 1 neat's tongue pie, 1 gammon of bacon in a pie, 2 doz. snipes, 1 crab, 4 lobsters, 1 fresh salmon, 2 trout, 1 piece of salt fish, and a hogshead of beer; of Mr. MILLER, 1 mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal, 1 lamb, 3 hens, 3 gulls; of Mr. RIC. COLLIER, 1 veal; of Mr. EDW. COLLYER, 1 lamb, 1 capon, and 2 hens. The purchases included oranges, 8d.

Somerset.—Assizes at Chard, 1st March, John Coles, Sheriff.

Presents—Of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 hogshead of beer, a ling, 2 eels, 2 carp, 2 pike, 2 roach, a isle of salmon, and herrings; of Mr. THOMAS PHILLIPS, 1 pike, 1 carp; of Mr. HOPTON, 10 carp. The purchases included rive 20d., and a cheese 16d.

\* Of Sidmanton, Hants; then Queen's Serjeant; and in February, 1599, made a Judge of the Common Pleas. These presents support Lord Buckhurst's report of his sufficient estate.

† Fuller and Jackson make all the Wilts sheriffs temp. Eliz. serve a year too early.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle, 6th March, John Copleston, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. WOTTON, 2 salmon; of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 pike, 1 quince pie, 1 apple tart, 2 other tarts, 1 gurnet baked, 1 custard, 1 salmon pie, 1 millwell,\* a piece of ling, a salt salmon, a piece of conger, a plaice, 6 whittings, 2 haddocks, 4 gurnetts, a bream, 2 carp, a piece of cod fish, and 2 hogsheads of beer, for *Sunday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 haddock, 3 gurnetts, 3 whittings, 2 pieces of cod fish, 1 carp, 1 piece of ling, a isle of millwell, a piece of London ling, and a piece of salt salmon, for *Monday's* supper; more of him, a piece of sturgeon, a salmon pie, a plaice, a carp, a pike, a tench, a ling, and a haddock, for *Tuesday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, a carp, a cod fish, 6 whittings, 2 gurnetts, and one plaice, for *Wednesday's dinner*; more of Mr. SHERIFF, a mullett, 1 plaice, 1 haddock, 3 whiting, a piece of ling, a lobster, for *Thursday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, one mullet, one haddock, 1 plaice, 4 whittings, one custard, and one tart, for *Friday's* supper; of Mr. HAIDON, one swan. The purchases included sprats 6d., cockles 6d., a piece of conger 8d., and a thornback† and 2 plaice 14d.

Joint charges at Mr. Serjeant Glanville's house, on the way towards Launceston, where their lordships lay, 11th March, 13s. 2d.

Cornwall.—Assizes at Launceston, 13th March, Peter Courtney, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. CHIVERTON, 3 great mullets; of Mr. CARY, of Antony, 6 basses; of Sir JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, 3 plaice and a dish of small fishes; of Mr. HARRYS, oysters; of Mr. SHAROCK, salt salmon and 2 pike; of Mr. SHERIFF, one hogshhead of beer, 2 pieces of ling, 2 millwells, 2 stock fish, 2 mullets, 4 haddocks, 4 whiting, 1 salmon peal, 3 puffins, one cod fish, 2 eels, and 8 herrings: more of Mr. SHERIFF, 4 haddocks, 6 trout, and one tart. The other charges included 2s. 6d. to Lamerton, who brought beer from Mr. SHERIFF, and waited all the assizes.

Total joint charges during the whole circuit, £42 8s. 1d.

Private charges of THOMAS WALMYSLEY, including expenses at Mr. RUDIARDE's house on the way to Andover, 19th Feb. The

\* A sort of cod fish — *Bailey*.

† Seate.

next day to the grooms at my LORD MARQUES house,\* where his lordship dined, to keep the horses out of the rain, and at Sir RICHARD ROGERS house on the way from Salisbury to Dorchester, £17 6s. 7d.

The AUTUMN ASSIZES of the same Judges, for the first 5 counties, begun at Winchester Castle, 10th July, 40th Eliz. 1598.

Southampton.—Marcus Steward, Sheriff.—Winchester.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR, 2 muttons; of Mr. WALLOPP, 1 fresh salmon; of Mr. NORTON, 1 buck; of Mr. OXENBRIDGE, 1 buck; of Mr. KIRBY, 1 lamb, 1 salmon; of Mr. TICHBORNE, 2 capons, 4 ducks, and 4 couple of rabbits; of Sir WALTER SANDES, one veale, 6 capons, 6 ducklings, and 6 couple of rabbits; of Mr. GIFFORD, 1 buck and a fresh salmon; of Sir THOMAS WEST, one salmon, 2 salmon peale; of Sir RICHARD PAWLETT, 4 couple of rabbits, 2 ducks, 2 chickens; of the LORD BISHOP of WINCHESTER, 1 buck, 12 chickens, 8 puetts, and 6 quails; of the L. MARQUIS of WINCHESTER, 1 buck; of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 buck, 2 capons, 18 couple of rabbits, 6 ducks, 2 salmon, 4 chickens, a dish of trout, 11 quails; of Mr. ST. JOHNS, 1 red deer pie, one gammon of bacon in a pie.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, 13th July, Sir James Marvyn, Knt. Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR, 1 mutton and 2 capons; of the CORPORATION of MERCHANT TAILORS, 1 mutton; of Mr. GAWEN, 1 lamb, 4 rabbits, 2 capons, and 6 artichokes; of Mr. WHITEACRES, 1 mutton and 2 capons; of Mr. SMYTHE, 1 veale, 1 mutton, and 10 couple of rabbits; of the EARL of HERTFORD, 2 bucks; of Mr. BAYNTON, 1 buck, 6 couple of rabbits; of Sir WILLIAM EYRES, 1 buck and 1 pheasant; of Mr. MOORE, 2 swans, 3 doz. of larks, 12 quails, 1 pheasant; of the EARL of PEMBROOKE, a buck; of Mr. DELLWAIE, 2 *heath pults*; of Mr. HUNGERFORD, 1 hogshhead of beer; of Mr. SHERIFF, one hogshhead of beer. The purchases included cherries, strawberries, and peas, 5s. 4d. calves feet, 8d.

\* Basing, the Marquess of Winchester's.



Dorchester.—Assizes at Dorchester, 17th July, Thomas Freke, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 hogshead of beer, 3 capons, 12 chickens, 1 mutton, 1 lamb, 12 lobsters, 12 larks; of Mr. MYLLER, 1 mutton, 1 lamb, 6 chickens, and 2 capons; of Sir MATHEWE ARUNDELL, 1 buck; of Mr. BROWNE, 1 lamb, 1 capon; of Mr. FITZJAMES, 2 capons; of Mr. RICHARD COLLIER, 1 veal, 1 lamb, 2 capons, 8 artichokes; of Mr. EDWARD COLLIER, 1 lamb, 2 capons, a dish of lobsters; of Mr. UVEDALE, 1 *Holland cheese* and 4 *heath pults*; of the LORD MARQUIS of WINCHESTER, one buck; of Mr. MORETON,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck, 10 couple of rabbits, and 6 quails; of Mr. ROBERT STRODE, 1 buck.

Somerset.—Assizes at Charde, 19th July, John Coles, Sheriff.

Presents—of my LORD CHIEF JUSTICE of ENGLAND,\* 1 buck; of Mr. SHERIFF, half a buck, 2 capons, 3 curlews, 6 pigeons, 5 quails, one neates tongue-pie, 1 pigeon-pie, 2 partridges, 2 artichokes, and one hogshead of beer; of Mr. PYNE, half a veal and half a mutton; of Mr. THOMAS PHILLIPPS, 18 pigeons and 8 rabbits; of Sir ANTONY PAWLETT, 1 buck; of Mr. NICH. WADHAM, 1 buck; of Mr. LUTTRELL, 1 buck.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle, 24th July, John Copleston, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. HAIDON, 1 buck; of Mr. SEYMOR, 1 buck; of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 buck: more of Mr. SHERIFF, a red deer-pie, 3 joints of mutton, 1 capon, a breast of veal, a quarter of lamb, a duck, 2 rabbits, 4 pigeons, a chicken-pie, a custard, a tart, 4 puetts, a piece of turbot, a gull, and a turkey-pie, for *Sunday's* supper: more of Mr. SHERIFF, a piece of conger, a piece of salmon, a piece of turbot, 2 joints of mutton, a joint of veal, 2 rabbits, 3 chickens, 6 birds, 1 gull, 1 duck, a custard, and a tart, for *Monday's* supper: more of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 joints of mutton, a breast of veal, a quarter of lamb, 2 pullets, 2 ducks, 12 birds, a lamb's purtenances, for *Tuesday's* supper: more of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 joints of mutton, a quarter of lamb, a breast of veal, a capon, a pullet,

\* Sir John Popham, whose estate was at Huntworth, Somerset.

2 puetts, 2 rabbits, a curlew, a tart, and a custard, for *Wednesday's* supper: more of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of mutton, a quarter of lamb, a capon, 2 rabbits, a duck, 2 chickens, a tart, a lamb's purtenances, and a heronshaw, for *Thursday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogsheads of beer. Paid the porter for bringing Mr. SHERIFF's beer, 8d. and given to Mr. CARSWELL, being Mr. SHERIFF's man, for bringing the provisions and waiting all the week, 10s.

The assizes ended at Exeter.

Total joint charges this autumn circuit, £38 9s. 4d.

Private charges of THO. WALMYSLEY, £14 3s. 9d.

Including expenses at Mr. PALMER's house, being on the way to Winchester, where the Judge lay, 8th July; at Mr. WALLOPP's, where he dined, 9th July; at Blandford, on the way from Salisbury to Dorchester, where his lordship lay, 15th July; and at Mr. COMAGE's house, where he lay, 16th July.

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The SPRING ASSIZES of the same Judges, for the 6 Western counties, begun at Winchester Castle, 22nd Feb. 41st Eliz. 1598-9.

Southampton.—John White, Sheriff.—Winchester.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR, 2 couple of ling, 2 couple of haberdyne,\* and 6 eels; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 8 carp, 3 pike, 2 salmon peale, 3 trout, and 6 humbers; of Mr. TICHBORNE, 8 trout and 4 tench; of my L. BISHOP of WINTON, 2 pike, 4 tench, and 2 perch; of Mr. GIFFORD, 1 salmon; of Sir JOHN SEYMOR, 6 carp, 3 pike, and 8 trout; of Mr. KINGSMELL, 1 salmon. The purchases included sprats 6d., 3 *lamprey* pies 18d., parsnip roots 8d., and “a drie fishe called *poore John*,”† 8d.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, Monday, first week in Lent,  
Edward Penruddok, of Compton Chamberlain, Sheriff.

Presents—of the MAYOR, 1 fresh salmon; of Mr. HUNGERFORD, 1 hogshhead of beer; of Mr. SHERIFF, one hogshhead of beer, 1 salmon, 2 carp, 3 trout, 4 basses, 4 lobsters, and one dish of crawfish; of the EARL of HERTFORD, 6 carp, and 6 bream; of Mr. VAUGHAN, 2 carp and 6 roach.

\* Salted cod.

† Dried hake.

Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, Thursday in first week of Lent,  
George Morton, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. RICHARD COLLYER, one fresh salmon; of Mr. EDMONDE UVEDALE, one salmon; of Mr. THO. UVEDALE, 1 salmon; of Mr. MILLER, 4 carpes, 4 trout, 4 lobsters, 1 crab, 1 mutton, 1 lamb,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal, 2 capons; of Mr. FREKE, 4 carp, 20 gurnets, 40 small whiting, and 10 haddock; of Mr. BROWNE, 4 carp, 2 capons; of Mr. LAUR. HIDE, 1 salmon peale, 4 trout, 3 carp, and 2 whittings; of Mr. SHERIFF, one hogshead of beer, 1 salmon, 1 pike, 1 double isle of ling, 1 double isle of conger, 1 haberdyne, 2 trout, 2 carp, 6 gurnets, 2 crabs, 2 lobsters, and 1 *long oyster*.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle, Monday in second week of Lent,  
Henry Rolles, Sheriff.

Presents—from Mr. SHERIFF, 2 carp, 2 pieces of ling, a piece of conger, a piece of millwill, a isle of salmon, a custard, and a tart, for *Sunday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 pieces of ling, 1 eel, 4 herrings, 2 small carp, 1 stockfish, and a tart, for *Monday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 piece of ling, 1 piece of millwell, 1 piece of conger, 1 piece of stockfish, a isle of salmon, 1 eel, and 1 plaice, for *Tuesday's* supper; more of Mr. SHERIFF, half a pike, a piece of millwell, 1 eel, a piece of salt salmon, 4 buckhorns, one piece of ling, for *Wednesday's* dinner; more of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 piece of ling, 1 piece of millwell, a piece of conger, 1 custard, 1 tart, and 4 gurnets, for *Wednesday's* supper; more sent by Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogsheads of beer, 3 gallons of claret wine, a pint of sack, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of sugar. Given to Mr. CARSWELL, being Mr. SHERIFF's man, who brought Mr. SHERIFF's provision every day, and waited during all the assizes there, 10s. Given unto yor Ll. by Mr. SMYTH, being in his house, a gallon of butter, 2 dry ling, 1 mersed ling, 2 congers, 1 millwell, 2 pecks of flour, 1 mutton, 1 veal, 1 lamb, and wood and coals, and spices. The purchases included apples 2s., wine 4s. 6d., and oysters and cockles 12d.

Joint charges at Okehampton, being on the way towards Launceston, where the Judges lay, 8th March, including bread and beer for supper and breakfast, sugar and spices, 4 pieces of beef, 2 apple pies, and wine and sugar, 4s. 4d.;—39s. 4d.

Cornwall.—Assizes at Launceston, Friday in second week,  
Sir William Bevill, Knt. Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. WRAY, 3 carp and half a doe; of Mr. CAREY, 4 basses, and 5 mullets; of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 hogshhead of beer, 1 ling, 1 millwell, 1 piece of salt conger, 2 flounders, 2 eels, 4 puffins, 1 isle of salmon, 1 piece of *porpoise*, 24 herrings, 1 quartern of sprats, 1 hake, 2 carp, 6 haddocks, 8 whittings, 1 fresh cod, 2 pieces of fresh conger, 6 little trout, 2 pike, 1 *quartern of razerfish*, 1 quartern of cockles, 2 plaice, 12 perch, 1 box of *marmalade*, 1 piece of conger, 2 puffins, 1 piece of *porpoise*, 3 trout, and 4 perch; of Mr. BROCK and Mr. HIDE, 1 lamb, 2 capons, 1 gurnet, and 2 haddock. The purchases included a thornback and oysters.

Somerset.—Assizes at Taunton Castle, on Wednesday in the third week, John Jennyng, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. CLARKE, 1 lamb, 6 small carp, 3 roach, and 2 flounders; of Mr. SHERIFF, half a hundred of herrings, 1 London ling, 1 Devonshire ling, 1 couple of haberdyne, 4 salt eels, 1 *lamprey* pie, 1 carp pie,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a conger, 2 carp, 2 pieces of salmon, 1 piece of sturgeon, 2 pike, 3 tench, 1 fresh eel,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a turbot, 6 roach, 4 trout, a dish of crawfishes, 1 lamb, 2 capons, 6 quails, 6 rabbits, a gamon of bacon baked, a neat's tongue pie, and 3 perch.

Total joint charges, £41 11s. 11d.

Private charges of THO. WALMYSLEY, £17 12s. 11d.

Including charges at Mr. RUDIARD's house on the way to Winchester, 21st Feb.; at Sir RICHD. ROGERS' house on the way from Salisbury to Dorchester, 28th Feb.; at Mr. ELMSTON's house at Lyme Regis on the way from Dorchester to Exeter, 3rd March; at Okehampton on the way thence to Launceston, 8th March; and at Mr. GALE's at Kirton on the way thence to Taunton.

The AUTUMN ASSIZES of the same Judges for the Western Circuit begun at Winchester Castle, 5th July, 41st Eliz. 1599.

Southampton.—John White, Sheriff.—Winchester.

Presents—of Sir RICHARD PAWLETT,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck ; of Sir THOMAS WEST, 3 salmon ; of the MAYOR, 1 mutton, 1 lamb, 2 salmon ; of the BISHOP of WINCHESTER, 1 buck and 1 salmon ; of Mr. WILLM. WHITE, 1 kid and 6 partridges ; of Mr. TICHBORNE, 3 couple of rabbits, 3 ducklings, 3 puetts, 3 chickens, and a dish of trout ; of Sir JOHN SEYMOR, 1 salmon, 4 carp, 6 pike, 6 lobsters, 6 eels ; of Mr. NORTON, 1 buck ; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 6 carp, 6 trout, 4 capons, 4 turkeys, and 4 ducklings.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, 9th July, Edward Penruddok, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. ARUNDELL, 1 buck ; of the MAYOR, 1 mutton and 2 capons ; of Mr. HUNGERFORD, 1 hogshhead of beer ; of the EARL of HERTFORD, 2 bucks ; of Sir WILLIAM EARE, 12 rabbits, 2 capons ; of Mr. BAYNTON, 12 rabbits ; of Mr. MOORE, 1 fresh salmon ; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogshheads of beer, 1 buck, 1 lamb, 6 puetts, 2 gulls, 2 capons, 2 doz. larks, half a salmon, 3 trout, and a dish of crawfish.

Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, 12th July, George Morton, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. MILLER, 1 mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal, 2 couple of rabbits, and 3 chickens ; of Mr. CHARLES FRAMPTON, 1 salmon and 6 lobsters ; of Mr. EDMOND UVEDALE, 4 herons ; of Mr. SWAYNE, a dish of oranges and 10 lobsters ; of Mr. COLLIER, 1 mutton, 2 capons, and 6 rabbits ; of Mr. SHERIFF, 1 lamb, 2 couple of rabbits, 3 *heath poults*, 1 capon, 1 turkey, 3 chickens, 2 trout, 1 little salmon, 4 lobsters, a piece of sturgeon, 2 ducklings, 1 doz. larks, a side of venison, 3 artichokes, 1 crab.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle, 16th July, Henry Rolle, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. HAIDON, 1 buck ; of Sir WILLIAM COURTNEY, 1 buck ; of Mr. SEYMOR, 1 buck, 12 rabbits, 6 capons, 6 ducklings, and 6 chickens ; of the EARL of BATH, 1 buck ; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogshheads of beer, and for *Sunday's* supper 1 turkey-pie, 1 neat's tongue—



pie, 3 joints of mutton, 1 capon, a breast of veal, a loin of veal,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, a gull, 4 chickens, a chicken-pie, a calves' foot-pie, a lamb's purtenances, and a tart : on *Monday*, for dinner and supper, a quarter of mutton, a quarter of lamb, a lamb's purtenances, a capon, a gull, a loin of veal, 2 chickens, 2 rabbits, a breast of veal, and a tart : for *Tuesday's* supper, a quarter of mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, a breast of veal, a lamb's purtenances, and a pasty of venison : for *Wednesday's* dinner and supper, a piece of beef, a quarter of lamb, a q<sup>r</sup> of mutton, a breast of veal, a neck of veal, and a lamb's purtenances : for all which provision, given to Mr. CARSWELL, Mr. SHERIFF's man, who brought the provision, 10s. The purchases included oatmeal, roots, onions, and *carrots*.

Cornwall.—Assizes at Launceston Castle, 20th July, Sir William Bevill, Knt. Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. CURRYTON,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck ; of Mr. ROUSE,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck ; of Mr. EDGCOMBE, 4 herneshaws, 4 artichokes, scorched (baked) apples and pears ; of Mr. WILLIAM WRAY, 1 great turbot, 10 whiting, 2 salmon peale, 6 trout ; of Mr. CAREY, of Antony, 4 basses, 3 mullets, and 2 great eels ; of Mr. HILLIARD, 10 small salmon peale ; of Mr. ARTHUR HARRIS, 20 small salmon peale ; of Mr. SHERIFF, one hogshead of beer,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a veal,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, 2 capons, 1 herne-shawe, 2 basses, 3 chickens, 2 pigs, 2 geese, 3 plaice, 8 trout, 2 sea-breams, a box of *marmalett*, a dish of artichokes, 2 couple of rabbits, 1 lobster, 2 puetts, 2 turkeys, and 2 pieces of conger.

Somerset.—Assizes at Taunton Castle, 25th July, John Jenning, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. PYNE, 1 mutton ; of Mr. WADHAM, 1 buck ; of Mr. GEO. LUTTRELL, 1 buck and 8 rabbits ; of Mr. JOHN LUTTRELL, 1 buck ; of Mr. JAMES CLARKE, 1 turbot, 1 dory, 2 gurnetts, 1 bream, and 4 lobsters ; of Mr. WRATH, of Petherton-park, 1 salmon peale ; of Mr. SHERIFF,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mutton, 1 lamb,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck, 2 couple of rabbits, 1 goose, 1 capon, 2 ducks, 1 swan, 6 pigeons, 3 green plovers, one curlew, 1 gull, 1 capon-pie, 1 heron, 5 snites, 3 chickens, 1 carp, and a

piece of sturgeon. The purchases included 2 *dun kyne*, which were fish, and other fish for *Saturday's* breakfast.

Total joint charges, £41 1s. 11d.

Private charges of THO. WALMYSLEY, £15 2s. 6d.

Including charges of Mr. PALMER's house, 3rd July, on the way to Winchester; at the BISHOP of WINCHESTER's, 4th July; at Blandford, on the way to Dorchester, 11th July; at Mr. COMAGE's house; at Mr. SPEKE's house, on the way to Exeter, 14th July; at Mr. FULFORD's house, on the way to Launceston; at Mr. MONCK's house, on the way thence to Taunton; and at Mr. STUCKLEY's house, also on the way to Taunton: and also 3s. 4d. given by Mr. JUSTICE FENNER's commandment for a *course at a buck* between Salisbury and Blandford.

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The SPRING ASSIZES of the same Judges, on the Western Circuit, begun at Winchester Castle, Monday, 18th Feb. 42 Eliz. 1599-1600.

Southampton.—William Wallopp, Sheriff.—Winchester.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR and his brethren, 3 old Organ ling, 2 haberdynes, 1 salt salmon, 1 salt conger, and 6 *Holland eels*; of Mr. SHERIFF, a fresh salmon; of Mr. TICHBORNE, 12 trout; of Sir RICHARD PAWLETT, 12 trout, 1 sugar loaf; of Sir JOHN SEYMOR, 10 carp, 2 pike, 12 roach, 2 perch, and 6 trout; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 2 pike, 6 carpes, and 6 trout; and of the BISHOP of WINCHESTER, 1 great pike, 1 bream, and 3 tench.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, Thursday in second week of Lent, Walter Vaughan, of Falstone, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR, a fresh salmon; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogsheads of beer, 2 carp, a isle of sturgeon, a isle of fresh salmon, 1 pike, 3 trout, and 1 *long oyster*; of the EARL of HERTFORD, 6 carp and 4 bream; of Mr. GAUNTLETT, a fresh salmon; of Mr. EDW. PENRUDDOCK, 2 carp and 3 eels; of Mr. EDW. HUNGERFORD, a hogshead of beer. Purchases included 5 organ ling, 6s. 6d., herrings, 2s. 8d., and cockles, 4d.

Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, 25th Feb. Robert Meller, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. RICHARD COLLIER, 2 carp, 2 plaice, 2 gurnetts, and 2 soles; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, 1 pike, 1 fresh cod, and 6 haddocks; of Mr. EDMONDE UVEDALE, 1 fresh salmon; of Mr. THO. UVEDALE, a fresh salmon; of Mr. MOORTON, 1 pike and 1 dish of [ . . . . ]. The purchases included 2 organ ling, 3s. 10d. a millwell, 2s. and for a *carpet* lost there, 20s.

Somerset.—Assizes at Charde, 27th Feb. George Rodney, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. THO. PHILLIPPS, 1 pike and 1 carp; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, a isle of ling, 1 pike, 2 eels, 1 tench, a salmon pie, a gurnet, 3 whiting, one *long oyster*, a isle of fresh salmon.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter, 4th March, Thomas Ridgwaie, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogsheads of beer, 1 hogshead of wine claret, a teirce of sack, a sugar loaf, 2 boxes of marmalett, with a good proportion of fish for Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday's suppers. Given to the servants at Mr. SMYTHE's house, according to the usual manner, £3 9s. 8d.

Total joint charges, £28 5s. 8d.

Private charges of THO. WALMYSLEY, £9 0s. 1d.

Including charges at Mr. RUDIARD's house on the way to Winchester, 16th February; at Sir RICHARD ROGERS' house on the way to Dorchester, 23rd February; at Mr. DRAKE's house on the way to Exeter, 1st March; the horsemeat at Exeter being discharged by Mr. HANCOCK, clerk of assize (saving only for *horse-bread* 7s.); and including the charges from Exeter till the Judges went to Mr. JENNYNGS' house in Somersetshire. The supper and breakfast at Okington cost 36s. 6d.

Cornwall.—Assizes at Launceston Castle, 11th March, William Wray, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. CARY, of Antony, 4 great basses and 2 mullets; of Sir JONATHAN TRELAWNEY,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *goat* and 2 capons; of Mr. ROWSE, 2

capons, 2 young rabbits, 2 teal, and 4 sanderlings; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a kid, 1 capon, 2 plovers, one *heath cock*, 2 snyts,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a haunch of venison, 2 haddock, and 2 gurnetts, upon *Monday*; on *Tuesday*, 1 rabbit, 2 quails, 1 capon, a isle of fresh salmon, a isle of conger, 2 whiting, and a joint of mutton; on *Wednesday*, a joint of mutton, a rabbit, a piece of salt fish, 2 haddocks, and a piece of cod. The purchases included oranges, herbs, and salads, 8*d*.

AUTUMN ASSIZES of the same Judges, for the Western Circuit, begun at Winchester Castle, 19th June, 42 Eliz. 1600.

Southampton.—William Wallopp, Sheriff.—Winchester.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR and his brethren, 2 ling, 1 haberdyne, 6 mullets, 1 bass, 4 little plaice, 1 sole and 3 lobsters; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 mullets, and a dish of lobsters; of Sir THOMAS WEST, 1 salmon and 2 salmon peale; of Mr. UVEDALE, 1 salmon; of the BISHOP of WINCHESTER, a salmon; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 1 salmon, 2 capons, 4 geese, 2 couple of rabbits, 4 ducklings, 2 partridges, and 4 quails; of Sir JOHN SEYMOR, 6 great carp, 1 great pike, and 12 trout; of Sir RICHARD PAWLETT, 6 trout; of Mr. DALBRIDGCOURT, 2 carp, 1 salmon peale, 4 perch, 1 roach, and 3 trout; of Mr. MOORE, of Howton, 10 trout. Purchases included salt, vinegar, and strawberries, 2*s*. 6*d*.; beer 2 humberkyns, 16*s*.; wine 5*s*. 6*d*.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, 23rd June, Walter Vaughan, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. EDW. PENRUDDOK, 1 *bustard*,\* 1 salmon, and 2 trout; of Mr. MAYOR, 1 mutton and 2 capons; of the LORD of PEMBROOK, 1 buck; of my LORD of HERTFORD, 2 bucks; of Sir WILLIAM EYRE, 1 buck; of Mr. ARUNDELL, 1 buck; of Mr. BAYNTON, 1 buck, 3 capons, and 12 quails; of Mr. EARNELEY, 1 buck; of Mr. ESCOURTE, 1 mutton; of Mr. WHITACRES, a mutton and 3 capons; of Mr. TUTT, 10 couple of rabbits; of Mr. MOORE, 2 doz. pigeons, 6 doz. of larks, and 12 quails; of Mr. EDW. HUNGERFORD, a hogshead of strong beer; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, a tierce of beer, a quarter of a

\* See a paper on the Great Bustard in the Wiltshire Archæological Magazine, 1856, vol. iii. p. 129.

*stag*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a buck, 2 capons, a salmon, a isle of sturgeon, 2 mullets, and 2 lobsters. The purchases included cheese, strawberries, and fruit, 3s. 10d.; wine 10s.

Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, 26th June, Robert Meller, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, 1 mutton, a lamb, a salmon; of Mr. HENRY COLLIER, a lamb, 2 capons; of Mr. EDM. UVEDALE, 3 herneshawes. The purchases included beer 8s., wine 3s.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle, 30th June, Sir Thomas Ridgwaie, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. HAIDON, a buck; of Mr. SEYMOR, a buck; of the EARL of BATH, 1 buck; of Mr BROWNE, 10 bushels of oats and 10 doz. of *horsebread*; of Mr. REYNELL, 2 capons and a salmon pie; of Mr. SHERIFF, 3 joints of mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, a lamb's purtenances, a pasty of red deer, a gammon of bacon baked, a lamb pie, 2 capons, 6 small birds, 2 partridges, 2 quails, 2 pigeons, 2 rabbits, a pasty of venison, a piece of sturgeon, a breast of veal, a custard, a tart, a duck, and 2 plates of *jelly*, for *Sunday's* supper; of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of mutton,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, 3 joints of veal, a turkey, a pullet, 6 birds, 2 quails, one partridge, 4 rabbits, a custard, a tart, a herneshawe, a duck, a lamb's purtenances, and a dish of peas, for *Tuesday's* supper; of Mr. SHERIFF, a piece of roasting beef, a goose, a pig, a leg of mutton, 2 capons, 2 joints of veal, a partridge, 2 quails, a duck, a dish of peas, artichokes,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, 2 rabbits, 2 chickens, and 6 small birds, a tart, a custard, and a herneshawe, for *Wednesday's dinner*; more of Mr. SHERIFF, a piece of beef, 2 capons, 2 chickens, 4 rabbits,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a lamb, 2 joints of veal, a pasty of venison, a pig, a goose, 2 joints of mutton, a herneshawe, a pheasant, a partridge, a duck, peas, a custard, a tart, a *jelly*; for *Thursday's dinner*; more of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogsheads of beer and a tierce, a firkin of *clarett* wine, a little runlett of *sack*, a runlett of *Ranyshe* wyne. Given to Mr. CARSWELL, being Mr. SHERIFF's man, for bringing all the said provision from Mr. SHERIFF, and waiting all the time of the assizes, 10s. No wine bought.

Joint charges at Okhampton, being on the way towards Launceston, on 3rd July, 33s 2d.



Cornwall.—Assizes at Launceston Castle, 4th July, 1600, William Wray, Sheriff.

Presents—of Sir WILLIAM BEVILL, 6 soles, 3 lobsters, 1 bream, 1 mullett; of Mr. CAREY, 3 basses and 2 mullets; of Mr. ARTHUR HARIS, 6 salmon peale; of Mr. EDGCOMBE, 6 artichokes, and a dish of apples and pears *starved*; of Mr. LANGESFORD, 8 salmon peale; of Mr. ROUS, 1 salmon pie, 6 artichokes, 4 rabbits, and a herneshawe; of Mr. SHAROCK, 2 capons and 12 chickens; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshhead of beer, 6 rabbits, 12 chickens, 3 capons, 6 salmon peale, 2 plaice, 2 soles, 3 pieces of conger, 4 whittings, 2 lobsters, 2 crabs, 1 sea bream, 1 gurnett, and 3 gulls. The purchases included cheese and strawberries, 2s. 6d.; beer, 24s.; wine, 3s.

Somerset.—Assizes at Taunton Castle, 9th July, George Rodney, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. SPEKE, 1 buck and 20 couple of rabbits; of Mr. JOHN PORTMAN, 20 rabbits; of Mr. PYNE, 1 mutton; of Mr. LUTTRELL, a buck; of Mr. WADHAM, 1 buck; of Mr. MORGAN, 2 salmon peale and 12 little trout; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshhead of beer, a quarter of lamb, a capon, 4 chickens, 2 partridges, a isle of fresh salmon, a piece of sturgeon, 2 lobsters, and a crab, for *Thursday's* supper; more of him, a side of venison, a pike, a crab, a tench, a lobster, a piece of conger, a piece of salmon, a piece of sturgeon. The purchases included bread and beer, 21s. 6d.; wine, 5s.; strawberries and cherries, 18d.; cheese and apples, 12d.; salt, vinegar, and peas, 18d.

Total joint charges on whole circuit, £40 8s. 10d.

Private charges of THO. WALMYSLEY, £15 8s. 4d.

Including bread, beer, wine, and sugar at Bagshot, 2s. 6d; expences at Mr. RUDIARD's house, 18th June; at Southampton town, 21st June; at Sir RICHD. ROGER's house, 25th June; at Lyme Regis, 28th June, in Mr. ELMSTON's house; at Okhampton, 3rd July; and at Mr. BERRY's house, on the road to Taunton, 8th July; and bread, beer, wine, and sugar at Tiverton, 2s. The private charge for horsemeat at Taunton was discharged by the officers of the town.

The SPRING ASSIZES of the same Judges, for the Western Circuit, begun at Winchester Castle, 23rd Feb. 43rd Eliz. 160 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Southampton.—Francis Palmer, Sheriff.—Winchester.

Presents—of Mr. MAYOR, 1 mutton, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a ling; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 lambs, 3 pies, 10 carp, 1 trout, 1 barbell, 1 pike, a piece of bacon, 2 collars of brawne, 2 swans, 2 geese, 6 capons, 2 chines of beef, 6 partridges, 1 haunch of venison, and 4 turkies; of my L. BISHOP, 1 veal, 1 lamb, 2 pheasants, 1 carp, 1 pike, and 1 tench; of Sir WALTER SANDES, 1 fresh salmon and 4 capons; of Mr. TICHBORNE, a mutton and 2 capons; of Sir JOHN SEYMOR, 1 lamb, 4 carp, 3 pheasants, 2 pheasant pies. The purchases included beer, 23s. 4d.; onions and apples, 18d.; herrings and oysters, 15d.; wine, 4s. 9d.

Wilts.—Assizes at New Sarum, 25th Feb. Thomas Snell, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. EDW. HUNGERFORD, 1 hogshead of beer; of Mr. MAYOR, a fresh salmon; of the EARL of HERTFORD, 8 carp and 4 breame; of Mr. TUTT, 4 trout and a dish of crawfish; of Mr. MOORE, 4 capons, 12 woodcocks, and 6 partridges; of Mr. VAUGHAN, 4 carp; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, 2 capons, 2 joints of mutton, 6 carp, 1 swan pie, 1 goose pie, 1 lamprey pie, 3 pieces of ling, a neat's tongue pie, a carp pie, 3 isles of fresh salmon, 1 piece of sturgeon, 3 plaice, 1 apple tart, 1 pippen pie, 1 pheasant, and 1 perch. The purchases included wine, 4s. No beer.

Dorset.—Assizes at Dorchester, 2nd March, Thomas Uvedale, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. MILLER, 1 mutton, 1 lamb, 12 haddocks, 6 lobsters, 2 crabs; of Mr. RICHARD COLLIER, 1 fresh salmon, 1 crab, 1 sole, 2 plaice, 2 roach; of Sir EDM. UVEDALE, a isle of sturgeon; of Mr. EDM. UVEDALE, a fresh salmon; of my L. VISCOUNT BINDON, a fresh salmon; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, 1 ling, 1 swan pie, 1 turkey pie, 3 carp, 2 soles, 4 plaice, 1 pike, a doz. of lobsters, 1 crab, 8 partridges, 1 capon, and 10 fresh fishes. Bought beer, 20s.; wine, 3s. 6d.; apple moyes, 16d.

Somerset.—Assizes at Charde, 4th March, Sir Hugh Portman, Sheriff.

Presents—of Mr. JOHN PORTMAN, 1 lamb, 2 hens, 1 capon, and 2 couple of rabbits; of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogshead of beer, an old ling, a isle of conger, a quarter of mutton, a fresh cod, a isle of salt salmon, 2 capons, a couple of rabbits, 2 partridges, 3 plovers, 1 haddock. Beer and wine bought, each 5s.

Devon.—Assizes at Exeter Castle (where the circuit ended),  
9th March, Edmund Parker, Sheriff.

Presents—of Sir RICHARD CHAMPERNOWNE, 57 plaice, 2 little turbot, 4 soles, and 4 gurnetts; of Mr. SHERIFF, 2 hogsheads of beer, 2 London ling, 2 other ling, a salt salmon, a conger, 2 millwells, 2 haddocks, 2 place, a *quince* pie, and a tart, for *Sunday's* supper; more of him, 1 cod fish,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a ling, 2 haddocks, 5 whiting, 2 pike, 4 gurnetts, 2 plaice, and a piece of cod fish, for *Munday's* supper; more of him, 6 little carp, 2 pieces of ling, a piece of salt salmon, a piece of millwell, 2 haddocks, 12 herrings, a piece of fresh ling, a piece of sturgeon, a quince pie, a rice tart, a capon, and 2 partridges, for *Tuesday's dinner*; more of him, 2 rabbits, a capon, a breast of veal, a *Flanders eel*, a piece of fresh cod, 12 herrings, 1 custard, and 1 tart, for *Tuesday's* supper; more of him, a piece of cod fish, 4 haddock, 6 whiting, and 1 cod's head, for *Wednesday's dinner*; more of him, a breast of mutton, a quarter of lamb, a capon, 2 rabbits, 4 whiting, 1 *Flanders eel*, a quince pie, a tart, and a custard, for *Wednesday's* supper; more of him, 1 capon, 1 partridge, 1 cod fish, 2 haddocks, 12 herrings, 1 quince pie, 1 pippen pie, and 1 tart, for *Thursday's* supper; more of him, 3 haddocks, 1 cod fish, 3 whiting, 1 tubb, a isle of fresh salmon, a *Flanders eel*, 12 herrings, a quince pie, a *potato pie*, 4 trout, and a custard, for *Friday's dinner*; more of him, 2 plaice, 2 haddocks, 1 tubb, 1 *Flanders eel*, 3 whittings, 1 *potato pie*, a quince pie, and a tart, for *Friday's* supper. The purchases included oysters, cockles, and musells 6s. 8d., carrots and herbs 2s., veal and oranges 4s. 10d., 36 trout 4s., a green fish and salt fish 6s., wine 4s.

Joint charges this circuit, £35 17s. 7d.

Private charges of THO. WALMYSLEY, £14 10s. 3d.

Including charges at Mr. RUDIARD's house, 21st Feb., at my L. MARQUESS (of WINCHESTER's) the next day, at Sir RICHARD ROGERS' on the way from Salisbury to Dorchester, 28th Feb.

## OXFORD CIRCUIT.

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Expens̃ juncta inter Thomam Walmysley, unū Justiĉ Dñe Regine de Banco, et Petrum Warburton, alŭm Justiĉ ip̃ius Dñe Regine de Banco, Justiĉ ejusdem Dñe Regine ad Ass̃ias in coñ Berk', Oxoñ, Glouĉ, Monmoth, Heref', Wigorn', Salop̃, et Staff' capiend' assigñ; incipiend' apud Redinge, in p̃āco coñ Berk', die Ven<sup>o</sup> is x<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno regno R<sup>ne</sup> Eliz. xliij. a<sup>o</sup> Dñi 1601<sup>o</sup>.—Tempore autumn. anno xliij<sup>o</sup> Eliz.

Berk fs.—Samuel Backhouse Ar., Vic.

Presents at Redinge.

<p>Imprimis, of Mr. SHERIFF, a hogeshead of beare, one old linge, ij birds, one pike, one <i>Thames trout</i>, x carpes, vj artichooks, vj quailles, ij capons, iij couple of rabbetts, a side of veneson, halfe a buck, iij<sup>or</sup> lobsters, ij crabb fishes, one basse, ij mulletts, a dishe of cravices, and ij soales, the reward . . . . . iij s. iij d.</p> <p>Of Mr. STAFFORD, a buck, ij capons, and iij<sup>or</sup> ducklings, y<sup>e</sup> reward iij s. vj d.</p> <p>Of Mr. MAIOR, a freshe samon and a kegge of sturgeon . . . . . ij s.</p> <p>Of Mr. GEORGE HIDE, a mutton . . . . . xvij d.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Sūma for p'sents at Redinge . . . . . x s. iij d.</p>
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Berk fs.—Provision bought at Redinge.

<p>Imp'mis, bread and flower xxij s. vj d.</p> <p>It. beare . . . . . xvij s.</p> <p>It. butter . . . . . vij s.</p> <p>It. egges . . . . . ij s. viij d.</p> <p>It. a veale . . . . . xij s.</p>	<p>It. a mutton . . . . . viij s.</p> <p>It. wyne . . . . . vij s. viij d.</p> <p>It. the grocers bill . . . . . ix. s. iij d.</p> <p>It. wood and coles . . . . . x s.</p> <p>It. cherries and straberries . . . . . xx d.</p>
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It. peases . . . . .	ij s.	It. thelpes in y <sup>e</sup> kitchen	iiij s. vj d.
It. vinegar and mustard . . . . .	viiij d.	It. thelpes in the buttrey . . . . .	xviij d.
It. rootes and saletts . . . . .	xij d.	It. to other s'uants in the house that	
It. a strayner . . . . .	vij d.	attended . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
It milke and creame . . . . .	xv d.	It. to the porter . . . . .	ij s.
It. candles . . . . .	viiij d.	It. to the poore . . . . .	ij s.
It. y <sup>r</sup> LL. chambers . . . . .	xx s.		

Sūma tot'lis at Redinge . . . . . vij li. vij s. x d.

Medietatis inde . . . . . iiij li. xiiij s. xj d.

It. paide for bread, beare, and wyne at Maidenhead, beinge in the waie  
towards Redinge . . . . . iiij s.

Medietatis inde . . . . . ij s.

Oxon *fs.*—Ad Assñas tenē apud Oxford, in coñ p̄dčō, die lune xiiij<sup>o</sup>  
die Julii, anno regni Eliz. Rñe xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

Oxon *fs.*—Will<sup>s</sup> Greene Ar., Vic.

Presents at Oxford.

Of Mr. SHERIFF, a hoggesheade of beare, ij *yonge swannes*, vi capons,

halfe a buck, a trout, and xij quailles, the rewarde . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.

Of Sr ANTONY COPE, halfe a buck, the rewarde . . . . . ij s.

Of Mr. WALMYSLEY, v capons and a lambe, y<sup>e</sup> reward . . . . . xviij d.

Of Mr. FFISHER, a trout, v coople of rabetts, and c crevises . . . . . xij d.

Of Mr. DOCTOR MARTYN, a runlett of *clarett* wyne . . . . . xij d.

Of Sr HENRIE LEE, a buck . . . . . v s.

Of Sr WILLIAM SPENCER, iiij capons, vj puetts, and a hernesshawe . . . . . xij d.

Of Mr. SMYTHE, a lambe, ij capons, and xij chickens . . . . . xviij d.

Of Mr. STONER, a kidd . . . . . xviij d.

Of Mr. READE, of Berk, a lambe, and ij capons, y<sup>e</sup> reward . . . . . xij d.

Of Mr. FARMER, a buck . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.

Sūma for p'sents at Oxford . . . . . xxij s. ij d.

Oxon *fs.*—Provision bought at Oxford.

Imp'mis, bread . . . . . xviij s. It. butter . . . . . viij s. iiij d.

It. flower . . . . . iiij s. It. egges . . . . . xxij d.



It. salt and otemeale . . . . .	viiij d.	It. orenge . . . . .	iiij d.
It. suett . . . . .	xij d.	It. apples and cheries . . . . .	xiiij d.
It. beare . . . . .	xxv s.	It. cleaving of wood . . . . .	xij d.
It. herbes, rootes, and saletts . . . . .	x d.	It. helps in ye kitchen . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
It. vinegar and varges . . . . .	xij d.	It. helps in ye buttrey . . . . .	ij s.
It. ij calves heades . . . . .	xij d.	It. other s'uants in ye house . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
It. the grocers bill . . . . .	xj s. iiij d.	It. for est . . . . .	ij d.
It. veale . . . . .	xx s. viij d.	It. to the porter . . . . .	ij s.
It. mutton . . . . .	xiiij s. ij d.	It. to the poore . . . . .	ij s.
It. ij rostinge pigges . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	It. for washinge the naprey . . . . .	v s.
It five yonge ducks . . . . .	ij s.		

Sūma tot'lis at Oxford . . . . .	vij li. xvj s.
Medietatis inde . . . . .	iiij li. xviiij s.

Joynt chardges from Oxford to Gloucester, vidett.

Paide for the passage over the ferrie at Ensam . . . . .	ij s.
It. at Burforde, where yo <sup>r</sup> LL. laie xiiij <sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno Eliz. xliij. videl't.—	
Given to the s'uants in ye house . . . . .	ij s.
To the poore there . . . . .	xij d.
For a pinte of wyne and sugar . . . . .	iiij d.
It. for cheries . . . . .	iiij d.
For yo <sup>r</sup> LL. supp. and brekfast . . . . .	nil
Being dischardged by the ALDERMEN and BAILIFES of BURFORDE.	

Sūma at Burforde and Ensam . . . . .	v s. viij d.
Medietatis inde . . . . .	ij s. x d.

Glouc fs.—Ad Assiās tenē apud Gloucester, in coñ p̃dco, die Jovis xvj<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno Regni Eliz. Rñe xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

Glouc fs.—Thomas Throgmerton, Miles, Vic.

Presents at Glouc.

Of Mr. SHERIFF, a buck, iiij <sup>or</sup> capons, vj coople of rabetts, vj artichooks, a pastie of redd deare, and a phesant, the reward . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. DASTON, a lambe, viij rabetts, and iiij <sup>or</sup> artichooks . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. EVANS, a dishe of cheries, a dishe of raspas, vj artichooks, and ij lantony cheeses . . . . .	vj d.

Of Mr. CHAMBERLAYNE, a mutton and iiij <sup>or</sup> chickings	. . .	xviij d.
Of Sir JOHN HICKFORD, vj coople of rabetts, y <sup>e</sup> reward	. . .	xij d.
Of Mr. DENYS, iij ducks, iij chickings, a pottle of <i>sack</i> , and ij litle cheeses	. . .	xij d.
Of Mr. PARTRIDGE, a chicken pie and one cherie tart	. . .	vj d.
Of Sir HENRIE POOLE, a fatt buck	. . .	v s.
Of y <sup>e</sup> L <sup>o</sup> . BARCKLEY, a buck	. . .	v s.
Of Mr. BARNES, a mutton	. . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. WOODROFF, a veale	. . .	ij s.
Of Mr. GUY, a mutton and vj coople of rabetts, the reward	. . .	ij s.
Of y <sup>e</sup> L <sup>o</sup> . SHANDOIS, a buck	. . .	v s.
Of Mr. STEVENS, a lambe, iiij <sup>or</sup> capons, and iiij <sup>or</sup> chickings, y <sup>e</sup> reward	. . .	xij d.
Of Mr. PORTER, x carpes and x braymes, y <sup>e</sup> reward	. . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. ESTCOURT, viij rabetts	. . .	vj d.
Of Mr. DANVERS, a dishe of trout and a dishe of cravies	. . .	vj d.
Of Mr. BAYNAM, iij samon peales	. . .	xij d.
Sūma for p'sents at Glouc'	. . .	xxxiiij s. x d.

Glouc f<sup>s</sup>.—Provision bought at Glouc.

Imp'mis, bread	. . . xxxvj s.	It. herbes and onyons	. . . xij d.
It. flower	. . . vj s.	It. roots and saletts	. . . xviij d.
It. beare	. . . xxxij s. viij d.	It. peases	. . . xvj d.
It. wyne	. . . viij s.	It. vinegar and mustard	. . . x d.
It. halfe a samon, iiij <sup>or</sup> plaisses, iiij <sup>or</sup> whitings, iiij <sup>or</sup> gurnetts, one thorne-back, ij lobsters, and one crabb	. . . vij s.	It. yor LL. chambers	. . . xx s.
		It. ij rabetts and ij artichooks	. . . xvj d.
		It. cheries and apples	. . . ij s. ij d.
It. creame	. . . xij d.	It. wood and coles	. . . xiiij s. x d.
It. for milke	. . . vj d.	It. helps in the kitchen	. . . iiij s. vj d.
It. straberries	. . . vj d.	It. helps in the buttrey	. . . xviij d.
It. butter	. . . x s.	It. to other s'uants in yor LL. house that attended	. . . ij s.
It. egges	. . . iiij s. viij d.	It. salt and otemeale	. . . xvj d.
It. halfe a mutton	. . . v s.	It. candles	. . . ij s.
It. veale	. . . xij s.	It. to the porter	. . . ij s.
It. the grocer's bill	. . . xij s.	It. to the poore	. . . ij s.
Sūma tot'lis at Glouc'	. . .		. . . xj li. v s. vj d.
Medietatis inde	. . .		. . . v li. xij s. ix d.

Monmoth *fs.*—Ad Ass̄ias ten̄r apud Monmoth, in coñi p̄d̄co, die lune xx<sup>o</sup> die Julij, anno regni Eliz. Rñe xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

Monmouth *fs.*—Edwardus Kemys, Ar. Vic.

Presents at Monmouth.

Of Mr. SHERIFF, a quarter of beefe, a veale, a mutton, a lambe, a kidd, a fatt buck, a freshe samon, iiij<sup>or</sup> capons, xij rabetts, and vj chickings, y<sup>e</sup> reward . . . . . v s.  
 Of my Lo. HARBERT, a buck . . . . . iij s. iij d.  
 Of Mr. GAINSFORD, a veale, ij. capons, and xij chickings . . . . . ij s.  
 Of Mr. RAULYNS, a veale . . . . . xviiij d.  
 Of Mr. CHARLES MORGAN, a veale and ij capons, y<sup>e</sup> reward . . . . . iij s.  
 Of Mr. THO. MORGAN, a lambe . . . . . xij d.  
 Of Mr. PRICE, a lambe, a kidd, ij capons, and viij chickings . . . . . ij s.  
 Of Mr. MATHEWE HARBERT, a mutton and a lambe, y<sup>e</sup> reward . . . . . ij s.  
 Of Mr. POWELL, a kegge of sturgeon, ij botelles of *Renyshe* wyne, vj capons, iiij<sup>or</sup> ducks, ij kiddes, and ij lambes . . . . . ij s. vj d.  
 Of my Lo. BISHOPP of LANDAFF, a lambe and a kidd, y<sup>e</sup> reward . . . . . xviiij d.  
 Of Sr EDW. WINTER, a buck . . . . . v s.  
 Of Mr. HAWLEY, a buck . . . . . iij s. iij d.  
 Of Mr. PHILLIPP RICE, ij freshe samons and a gallon of wyne . . . . . nil.  
 Sūma for p'sents at Monmouth . . . . . xxxj s. viij d.

Monmoth *fs.*—Provision bought at Monmouth.

Imp'mis, bread . . . . .	xxiiij s.	It. y <sup>e</sup> grocer's bill . . . . .	x s. ix d.
It. flower . . . . .	xij s.	It. lambes heades and their app <sup>n</sup> -	
It. beare . . . . .	xxv s.	ten'neces * . . . . .	x d.
It. butter . . . . .	vj s. iij d.	It. cheries . . . . .	vj d.
It. egges . . . . .	xxij d.	It. suett . . . . .	xvj d.
It. salt and otemeale . . . . .	ij s. viij d.	It. mustard . . . . .	ij d.
It. onyons & parseley . . . . .	vij d.	It. for th'use of y <sup>e</sup> house and for	
It. vinegar and vargis . . . . .	vj d.	wood and coles . . . . .	xl s.
It. candles . . . . .	xx d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> kitchen . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
It. wyne . . . . .	ij s. vj d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> buttrey . . . . .	xviiij d.

\* To be stewed with cut endive, a little yeast strained in, and currants, pruens, and all manner of spices, and served upon sops.—The Booke of Cookerie, 1620.

It. to other s'uants in the said	It. to the porter	. . . . .	ij s.
house . . . . .	It. to the poore	. . . . .	ij s.
Sūma tot'lis at Monmouth	. . . . .	viiij li. xiiij s. x d.	
Medietatis inde . . . . .	. . . . .	iiij li. vj s. xj d.	

Heref £s.—Ad Assñas tenē apud Hereforde, in coñ p̄dco, die Jovis  
xxii<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno regni Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup> xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601.

Heref £s.—Henr. Vaughan, Ar. Vic.

Presents brought at Hereford.

Of Mr. SHERIFF, a mutton, a buck, ij capons, a pike, and x rabetts	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. BODENHAM, a veale, a lambe, a kidd, ij capons, ij carpes, a pike, ij tenches, and ij <i>botlings</i> ,* y <sup>e</sup> reward . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. LYE, a mutton . . . . .	xviiij d.
It. paid for y <sup>e</sup> carriage of a samon from Monmoth . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. JONES, a lambe, a kidd . . . . .	xviiij d.
Sūma for p'sents at Heref. . . . .	x s. viij d.

Heref £s.—Provision bought at Hereford.

Imp'mis, bread . . . . .	xxj s.	It. cheries and apples . . . . .	xvj d.
It. beare . . . . .	xxvj s. viij d.	It. viij chickings . . . . .	ij s.
It. wyne . . . . .	ij s.	It. vj troutes, iiij <sup>or</sup> <i>shewinge</i> ,† iiij <sup>or</sup>	
It. flower . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.	roches, and iiij <sup>or</sup> dases iiij s. vj d.	
It. mutton . . . . .	ij s.	It. ix peeces of frier fishe iiij s. iiij d.	
It. veale . . . . .	viiij s. vj d.	It. candles . . . . .	xx d.
It. butter . . . . .	vij s. x d.	It. wood and coles . . . . .	xv s.
It. egges . . . . .	iiij s.	It. washinge y <sup>e</sup> naprey . . . . .	v s.
It. salt and otemeale . . . . .	xvj d.	It. the grocer's bill . . . . .	vij s.
It. vinegar and vargis . . . . .	ij s.	It. the loane of vessels . . . . .	v s. iiij d.
It. rootes and salletts . . . . .	ij s.	It. th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> kitchen iiij s. vj d.	
It. to y <sup>e</sup> waites of y <sup>e</sup> cittie . . . . .	ij s. vj d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> buttrey . . . . .	xviiij d.
It. amending a lock . . . . .	vj d.	It. to other s'uants in y <sup>e</sup> house . . . . .	ij s.
It. milke and creame . . . . .	xxij d.	It. to the poore . . . . .	ij s.
Sūma tot'lis at Hereford . . . . .		vij li. xiiij s. vj d.	
Medietatis inde . . . . .		iiij li. xvij s. iiij d.	

\* Black sea-trout.

† Salmon trout.

It. given in rewardes at Mr. PITT his house, beinge in the waie towards Worcester, where yo<sup>r</sup> LL. laie xxv<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno regni Eliz. xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>, as followeth, videſt.

To the cookes . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	To y <sup>e</sup> stable . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
To the butlers . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	For dryinge boots . . . . .	xij d.
To y <sup>e</sup> chamberlaines . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	It. to the poore there . . . . .	xv d.
Sūma at Mr. PITT his house . . . . .			xv s. viij d.
Sūma tot <sup>l</sup> is at Heref. and at Mr. PITT his house . . . . .			viij li. x s. j d.
Medietatis inde . . . . .			iiij li. v s. ob.

Wigorn ſs.—Ad Assiās tenē apud Civitaē Wigornī, in com̄ p̄dcō, die lune xxvij<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno regni Eliz. xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

Wigorn ſs.—Johes Washborne, Ar., Vic.

Wigorn ſs.—Presents at Worcester.

Of Mr. PITT, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. COLLES, a mutton . . . . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. WALSHE, a mutton . . . . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. SHERIFF, a buck, iiij <sup>or</sup> capons, v pullets, vj ducks, iiij <sup>or</sup> partridges, and iiij <sup>or</sup> artichooks, y <sup>e</sup> reward . . . . .	v s.
Of Mr. HARWELL, halfe a buck, a kidd, and viij rabetts . . . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. WILLM. SAVAGE, a lambe, a capon, viij rabetts, viij pigeons, and five artichooks, y <sup>e</sup> reward . . . . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. DEANE AND CHAPTER, a gallon of wyne and sugar . . . . .	vj d.
Of Mr. SANDES, a lambe, x rabetts, ij capons, and vj chickings . . . . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. TALBOTT, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. WA. SAVAGE, a lambe, and vj coople of rabetts . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. WILLM. CHILDE, a lambe and vj artichooks . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. BUSHELL, viij rabetts . . . . .	vj d.
Of Mr. SHELDON, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. DINGLEY, ij capons and xij rabetts . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. WILDE, vj puetts, a pheasant, and ij partridges . . . . .	xij d.
Of Sir JOHN PACKINGTON, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.



Of Mr. HOPTON, a buck . . . . .	ij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. JEFFERIES, iiij <sup>or</sup> bushells of beanes and peases . . . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. LYGON, a veale . . . . .	ij s.
Sūma for p'sents at Worcester . . . . .	xl s. ij d.

Wigorn fcs.—Provision bought at Worcester.

Imp'mis, butter . . . . .	vij s. ij d.	It. beare . . . . .	xxvj s. vij d.
It. egges . . . . .	ij s. iiij d.	It. wyne . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
It. salt . . . . .	xiiij d.	It. cheries . . . . .	xiiij d.
It. rootes and salletts . . . . .	xij d.	It. mustard . . . . .	ij d.
It. neates feete and tripes . . . . .	ij s. iiij d.	It. onyons and apples . . . . .	vij d.
It. vinegar and vargis . . . . .	xij d.	It. water . . . . .	xiiij s.
It. mutton . . . . .	vj s. iiij d.	It. wood and coles . . . . .	xiiij s.
It. veale . . . . .	xxij s.	It. th'use of y <sup>e</sup> house . . . . .	xx s.
It. flower . . . . .	vij s. vij d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> kitchen . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
It. candles . . . . .	vij d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> buttrey . . . . .	xvij d.
It. the grocer's bill . . . . .	vij s. vj d.	It. to other s'uants in the house . . . . .	ij s.
It. suett . . . . .	xvj d.	It. to the porter . . . . .	ij s.
It. bread . . . . .	xxj s.	It. to the poore . . . . .	ij s.
Sūma tot'lis at Worcester . . . . .	x li. v s. vij d.		

It given in rewardes at y<sup>e</sup> counsell house in Bridgnorth, where  
yo<sup>r</sup> LL. laie xxix<sup>o</sup> die Julij, anno Eliz. xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

To the cooks there . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
To the butlers there . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
To the chamb'laines . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
It. to the s'uants in Mr. SAVAGE his house, where we lodged in Bridgnorth that night . . . . .	iiij s.
For or supper there, nil, beinge all dischargd by the townesmen of Bridg- north.	

Sūma tot'lis at Worcester and Bridgnorth . . . . .	x li. xvj s. j d.
Medietatis inde . . . . .	v li. vij s. ob.

Salop £s.—Ad Assias tenē apud Salop, in com̃ p̃dco, die Jovis xxx<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno regni Eliz. xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

Salop £s.—Franciscus Newport, Ar., Vic.

Presents at Shrewsburie.

Of Mr. SHERIFF, a buck, a veale, a mutton, a lambe, a kegge of sturgeon, and xij rabetts, the reward . . . . .	v s.
Of Mr. LACON, a buck and xij rabetts . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. OTLEY, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. SCRIVEN, a mutton, a capon, ij pullets, and x chickings . . . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. POWELL, halfe a veale and a lambe, the reward . . . . .	xviij d.
Of Mr. LEY, a buck and xij rabetts . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Mr. ONSLOWE, a mutton and halfe a veale . . . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. WILLIAMS, a mutton and halfe a veale, y <sup>e</sup> reward . . . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. BRIGGES, a veale & a kidd . . . . .	ij s.
Of Mr. OWEN, iiij <sup>or</sup> carpes, ij samons, ij samon peales, and iiij <sup>or</sup> tenches ij s. vj d.	
Of Sir RICHARD HUSON, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Sūma for p'sents at Salop . . . . .	xxx s. iiij d.

Salop £s.—Provision bought at Salop.

Imp'mis, bread . . . . .	xxvj s.	It. peases . . . . .	xij d.
It. flower . . . . .	vij s.	It. pearces & apples . . . . .	iiij d.
It. wyne . . . . .	iiij s.	It. the grocer's bill . . . . .	ix s. viij d.
It. butter . . . . .	viiij s.	It. candles . . . . .	ij s.
It. egges . . . . .	iiij s. viij d.	It. for washinge y <sup>e</sup> naprey . . . . .	x s.
It. milke . . . . .	xij d.	It. for cleevinge wood . . . . .	xij d.
It. ij basses, ij <i>botlings</i> , one mullett, xij roches, and a great yeele iiij s. x d.		It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> kitchen . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
It. ij pullets . . . . .	xij d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> buttrey . . . . .	xviij d.
It. vinegar & vargis . . . . .	ij s.	It. to other s'uants in y <sup>e</sup> house . . . . .	iiij s.
It. salt and otemeale . . . . .	xx d.	It. to the porter . . . . .	ij s.
It. roots and saletts . . . . .	ij s.	It. to the poore . . . . .	ij s.

Sūma tot'lis at Salop . . . . . vj li. viij s. vj d.

It. more given in rewardes at Mr. Owen his house, beinge in the waie to Stafford, where yor LL. laie primo die Augusti, anno Eliz. Rñe xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>, videt̃.

To the cook	. iij s. iiij d.	It. for otes	. . . . . xij d.
To the butlers	. iij s. iiij d.	It. for drying bootes	. viij d.
To the chamb'laines	. iij s. iiij d.	It. to the porter	. . . . . ij s.
To the stable	. iij s. iiij d.		

Sūma tot'lis at Salop and at Mr. OWEN his house	. vij li. v s. vj d.
Medietatis inde	. . . . . iij li. xij s. ix d.

Stafford fs.—Ad Assīas tenē apud Stafford, in coñ p̃dco, die lune ꝛcio die Augusti, anno regni Eliz. Rñe xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.

Stafford fs.—Witts Chetwyn, Ar., Vic.

Presents at Stafford.

Of Sir JOHN EGERTON, a veale	. . . . . xviiij d.
Of Mr. BASSETT, a buck, ij capons, xij rabetts, and vj pigeons	. . . . . v s.
Of her Maties ATTORNEY-GENERALL,* a buck	. . . . . v s.
Of Mr. ASTON, x couple of rabetts and ix partridges	. . . . . xviiij d.
Of Sr EDWARD LITTLETON, a buck, ij capons, and iij artichooks	. . . . . v s.
Of Mr. FAUTHERINGE, viij chickings	. . . . . vj d.
Of Mr. FOWKER, a veale	. . . . . xviiij d.
Of Mr. SHERIFF, ij hanches and a side of veneson, halfe a kidd, v rabetts, ij <i>heath pults</i> , and a redd deare pie	. . . . . iij s. iij d.
Of Mr. SKEVINGTON, a phesant, xij rabetts, ij pullets, and ij hernesawes	. . . . . xviiij d.
Of Mr. ROCHLEY, a mutton and halfe a veale	. . . . . ij s.
Of Mr. PADGETT, a buck	. . . . . iij s. iij d.
Of Sir RICHARD LUSON, a buck	. . . . . iij s. iij d.
Of my LO. BISHOPP of COVENTRIE and LEICHFEILDE, v yonge turkies, vj puetts, a great pike, and a isle of sturgeon	. . . . . ij s. vj d.
Of Mr. WA. LUSON, a lambe	. . . . . xij d.
Of Mr. BAGOTT, a buck	. . . . . iij s. iij d.

\* Sir Edward Coke.

Of Mr. CROMPTON, a mutton and ij <i>heath pultes</i> . . . . .	ij s.
Of Sr THO. JERRARD, a buck . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Of Sr JOHN BOWES, xij rabetts . . . . .	xij d.
Of Mr. LEY, halfe a mutton and halfe a veale . . . . .	xviiij d.
Sūma for p'sents at Stafford . . . . .	xlviij s. ij d.

It. paid for a pound of pepper and a pound of grames at London spent this circuyte . . . . .	v s. vj d.
Medietatis inde . . . . .	ij s. ix d.

Stafford £s.—Provision bought at Stafford.

Imp'mis, bread . . . . .	xxviij s.	It. for flower . . . . .	xij s.
It. beare . . . . .	xl s.	It. mustard . . . . .	ij d.
It. butter . . . . .	ix s.	It. neates feete & tripes* . . . . .	vj d.
It. egges . . . . .	xxj d.	It. th'use of the house . . . . .	xx s.
It. veale . . . . .	vij s. vj d.	It. for a pigg . . . . .	xij d.
It. mutton . . . . .	iiij s.	It. for calves' feete . . . . .	vj d.
It. salt and otemeale . . . . .	ix d.	It. wood and coles . . . . .	xx s.
It. herbes, salletts, & rootes . . . . .	viiij d.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> kitchen . . . . .	iiij s. vj d.
It. candles . . . . .	ij s.	It. to th'elpes in y <sup>e</sup> buttrey . . . . .	xviiij d.
It. wyne . . . . .	ij s. ix d.	It. to other s'uants in the house that attended . . . . .	iiij s.
It. vinegar & vargis . . . . .	ij s.	It. to the porter . . . . .	ij s.
It. <i>chalke</i> . . . . .	j d.	It. to the poore . . . . .	ij s.
It. gooseberries . . . . .	vj d.	It. for bakinge of veneson . . . . .	ij s.
It. the grocer's bill . . . . .	x s. vj d.		

Sūma tot'lis at Stafford . . . . . xj li. vj s. ix d.

Sūma tot'lis of ioynt chardges in this whole circuyte tempore  
autumn. anno regni Eliz. Regine, xliij<sup>o</sup>, amounteth unto in y<sup>e</sup>  
whole the some of . . . . . lxxiiij li. xvj s. ix d.

Medietatis inde pro parte THOME WALMYSLEY

xxxvj li. xviiij s. iiij d. ob.

\* To stewe trypes. Take a pinte of claret wine and set it upon the fyre, and cut your trypes in small peeces, and thereto put in a good quantity of cinnamon and ginger, and also a sliced onion or thwaine, and so let them boyle halfe an houre, and then serve them upon soppes.—The Booke of Cookery, 1575.

The private chardges of Thomas Walmysley, Cheife Justice of Assize in the counties of Berk. Oxon. Glouc. Monmoth, Heref. Wigorn, Salop, and Stafford, beginnyng at Redinge, in the county of Berk. upon Fridaie, the 10th daie of July, anno regni Eliz. xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>.—Tempore autumn. anno xliij<sup>o</sup> Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup>.

Berk fs.—Private chardges at Redinge.

Imp'mis, for horsemeat	xxix s. vj d.	To the ostlers	.	.	xij d.
It. given to Sir FRANCIS KNOLLES		For o <sup>r</sup> chambers	.	.	xij d.
his man y <sup>t</sup> brought otes	xviiij d.				
Sūma at Redinge	.	.	.	.	xxxiiij s.

Oxon fs.—Private chardges at Oxford.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate	xxviiij s.	To the ostlers	.	.	xij d.
To the smythe	. . . . . iij s	For o <sup>r</sup> chambers	.	.	xij d.
It. for a basse*	. . . . . vj d.				
Sūma at Oxford	.	.	.	.	xxxiiij s. vj d.

It. at Burford, beinge in the waie to Glouc. where yo <sup>r</sup> L. laie xiiij <sup>o</sup> Julii,					
anno xliij <sup>o</sup> Eliz. for horsemeate there nil, beinge dischargd by the					
aldermen and townesmen of Burford, but given only to the ostlers					
there	.	.	.	.	vj d.
Sūma at Burford	.	.	.	.	vj d.

Glouc fs.—Private chardges at Glouc.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate	xxxviiij s.	To the ostlers	.	.	xij d.
To the smythe	. . . . . xij d.	It. for oile	.	.	xij d.
To Mr. JEFFERIES' man that brought		It. for o <sup>r</sup> chambers	.	.	xij d.
beanes and peases	. . . . . xx d.				
Sūma at Glouc.	.	.	.	.	xliij s. viij d.

\* A broom.



Monmoth *fs.*—Private chardges at Monmoth.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate xxxiiij s. iiij d.	It. to Mr. CHARLES MORGAN his
To Mr. KEMYS his man y <sup>t</sup> brought	man y <sup>t</sup> brought otes to yo <sup>r</sup> L. xij d.
a sugar loafe to y <sup>r</sup> L. . xij d.	It. for oile . . . vj d.
It. paid for canvas, paper, and pack-	To the ostlers . . . xij d.
threed, to carrie y <sup>e</sup> sugar loafe	For o <sup>r</sup> chambers . . . xij d.
ix d.	
Sūma at Monmouth . . . .	xxxix s. vij d.

Heref *fs.*—Private chardges at Hereford.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate there nil,	To the smythe there	ij s. vj d.
beinge dischargd by Mr. WALL-	To the ostlers . . .	xij d.
wYN the lawier, but given to Mr.	For o <sup>r</sup> chambers . . .	xij d.
WALLWYN his man that brought		
provander . . . .	ij s. vj d.	
Sūma at Hereford . . . .		vij s.

Wigorn *fs.*—Private chardges at Worcester.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate xxxij s.	To the ostlers . . .	xij d.
To the sadler . . . .	For oile . . . .	vj d.
To the smythe . . . .	For o <sup>r</sup> chambers . . .	xij d.
Sūma at Worcester . . . .		xxxv s. x d.

Private chardges at Bridgnorth, beinge in y<sup>e</sup> waie to Shrewsburie, where yo<sup>r</sup> L. laie xxix<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno Eliz. xliij<sup>o</sup>, 1601<sup>o</sup>, viz.:

For horsemeate, nil, beinge dis-	To the ostlers . . .	xij d.
chargd by the bailifes of Bridg-	For slippes . . . .	xij d.
north.	For bread and beare . . .	vij d.
To the smyth . . . .	vij d.	
Sūma at Bridgnorth . . . .		ij s. iiij d.

Salop *fs.*—Private chardges at Shrewsburie.

Imp'mis, for horsemeate xxvij s. vj d.	To the ostlers . . .	xij d.
To the smythe . . . .	For o <sup>r</sup> chambers . . .	xij d.
Sūma at Shrewsburie . . . .		xxx s.

Stafford fs.—Private chardges at Stafford.

Imp'mis, for horsmeate	xxviiij s.	To the ostlers	.	.	xij d.
To the smythe	.	iiij s.	For o <sup>r</sup> chambers	.	xij d.

Sūma at Stafford . . . . . xxxiiij s.

Sūma tot'lis of private chardges in this whole circuyte, tempore  
autumn. anno regni Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup> xliij<sup>o</sup>, amounteth unto the some  
of . . . . . xij li. xix s. v d.

Sūma tot'lis, both ioynt and private chardges disbursed by me in  
this whole circuyte, tempore autumn. anno regni Eliz. R<sup>ne</sup> xliij<sup>o</sup>,  
for my m<sup>r</sup> his part, amounteth unto in the whole y<sup>e</sup> some  
of . . . . . £49 17s. 9d.

Sūma tot'lis receaved by me of THOMAS CLAITON in this whole  
circuyte. . . . . xlviiij li.

Receaved more of Mr. FOWLER, clarke of assizes, for the moietie of  
the diet of one of his men in this whole circuyte, the some  
of . . . . . xviiij s. viij d.

And soe there remayneth due to me . . . . . xviiij s. j d.

# I N D E X.

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THE SKRYVENERS' PLAY,  
THE INCREDULITY OF ST. THOMAS.

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FROM A MANUSCRIPT  
IN THE POSSESSION OF  
JOHN SYKES, ESQ. M.D. OF DONCASTER.

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EDITED BY  
J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ. F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.LIX.



## INTRODUCTION.

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ALTHOUGH the manuscript from which the ensuing Miracle-play is printed is not, perhaps, earlier than the reign of Henry VI., there is ground for believing, from the character of the speeches, and from the extreme simplicity of its construction, that, if not the oldest, it is one of the oldest dramas existing in our language. In this respect it may rival "The Harrowing of Hell," the MS. of which (Harl. 2253) carries us back to the reign of Edward III.

It is not now printed for the first time. It was discovered many years ago "amongst the Archives at Guildhall, York," and was published by Mr. J. Croft, F.S.A. in his "*Excerpta Antiqua*," which came out in 1797. Ancient records were not then read with so much facility as at present; the manuscript itself is in various places scarcely legible, and the then editor, without being at all to blame, committed serious errors which we have endeavoured to remedy. The valuable original is now the property of John Sykes, Esq. M.D. of Doncaster, who has kindly permitted the Camden Society to make use of it.

Exclusive of the parchment cover, (on which the word

#### INTRODUCTION.

“Skryveners” was written at a very early date,) it consists of only four leaves, or eight pages, of vellum, not very closely written: the size of the page is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad; and an infusion of galls has been freely used, in the hope of making the writing more obvious, which has sometimes had the contrary effect.

The subject of the play is the Appearance, or rather the successive appearances, of the Saviour, first to the Apostles Peter, James, and John, and afterwards to the same Apostles with the addition of St. Thomas, as recorded in the Gospel of St. John, xx. 19—29. Under the title of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, this is an incident that has been employed in every known series of Miracle-plays; and there can be no reasonable doubt that that under consideration only formed one of a regular succession of scriptural dramas, or pageants, performed annually by different guilds of the city of York. To the Scriveners’ Company was allotted “The Incredulity of St. Thomas;” and the manuscript in our hands was doubtless the very prompt-book used by the person, denominated Book-holder, whose duty it was to watch and assist the hesitating performers in the delivery of their parts. When the representations were at an end, these prompt-books were collected together, and deposited in some chest, or other receptacle, in the guildhall, until

they should again be required. Many similar prompt-books, belonging to other plays, must formerly have existed ; and, after the lapse of so many centuries, the wonder is that any one of them should have been preserved. As, however, one has come to light, it is by no means impossible that others may still lurk in some dark and unopened archive.\*

The collections of such performances which have come down to our time, and which have formerly belonged to Coventry, Chester, Widkirk, and other places, were, in all probability, transcribed from the separate and subsequently accumulated prompt-books. The Shakespeare Society printed those of Coventry and Chester in 1841 and 1843, while the Widkirk series, usually known as the Towneley Manuscript, had already been published by the Surtees Society in 1836.

It will be seen that nothing of a dramatic character can well exceed the constructive simplicity of the York Play here printed. The number of actors required for its representation would only be five, the characters

\* Mr. Davies in his "York Records of the Fifteenth Century," 8vo. 1843, p. 233, states that the Plays were 57 in number a few years later than in 1415, and in his list the Scriveners' Play, *Apparicio Christi Thome Apostolo et aliis*, is the fiftieth. The MS. formerly in Thoresby's collection, afterwards at Strawberry Hill, and at its last remove sold among the late Mr. Heywood Bright's books to Lord Ashburnham, has been believed to be a collection of these separate Plays.



being the Saviour, St. Peter, St. John, St. James and St. Thomas. It is this circumstance, combined with the nature of the language put into the mouths of these personages, which induces us to believe that the piece, as it has descended to us, existed in that very shape at least as early as the reign of Edward III. If the reader will refer to the Coventry Play upon the same subject (Edit. Shakesp. Soc. p. 364) it will be seen that it is of a much more complicated and elaborate description; while into the Chester Play (edit. Shakesp. Soc. vol. ii. p. 101) speeches of a comparatively modern cast have been introduced,—a remark that will even more strongly apply to the Widkirk Play (edit. Surtees Soc. p. 280) where St. Paul makes a long harangue against the female sex, which could hardly have belonged to the performance as it was first written and represented. The number of persons required to act it was also considerably larger in all three, than in the ensuing drama, which we are decidedly of opinion is of an earlier date, and has reached us in a state of much greater purity.

It may be right to add, that in a few places we have restored the measure of the original, where it was disregarded by the old scribe, who ran one line into another for the sake of economising space.

J. P. C.

## SKRYVENERS.<sup>1</sup>

---

### Petrus

Alas, the woo y<sup>t</sup> we are wrought!  
had neu<sup>1</sup> no men so mekyll thowght.  
Sens y<sup>t</sup> oure lord to deth was browght  
wyth Jewys ffell,  
owt of this sted sens durst we nott,  
butt heer a dwell.

---

### Johēs

Her haue we dwellyd w<sup>t</sup> panys strong,  
& w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>r</sup> lyvys owr lothe we lyff so longe,  
Sens y<sup>t</sup> thes Jewys wrought this wrong  
our lord to sloo:<sup>2</sup>  
Sens drust we neu<sup>1</sup> come thayme emong,  
ne hyne goo.

---

### Jacob<sup>3</sup>

yes wekyt Jewys haytes vs full yll,<sup>3</sup>  
and byt<sup>1</sup> panys thay putt vs tyll;  
y<sup>9</sup>for I red<sup>4</sup> we dwell styll  
here y<sup>t</sup> wee leynd,  
tyll y<sup>t</sup> cryst vs some socor send.

---

Jh<sup>h</sup>

Pees and Rest be vnto yow.

---

Petrus

A, breder dere! whatt may we trow?  
 What was y<sup>e</sup> syght y<sup>t</sup> we saw now,  
     shynyng so bryght?  
 and thus ys wanysshyd, we wayt not how,<sup>5</sup>  
     ow[t] off owr syght?

---

Joh<sup>h</sup>s

Owt of o<sup>r</sup> syght now ys yt sowght;  
 yt makes vs mad y<sup>e</sup> lyght yt browght:  
     what yt may bey?

---

Jacob<sup>3</sup>

Yt ys some vanytes in owr thowght:  
     noght els trow I.

---

Jh<sup>h</sup>

Pes vnto yow eu<sup>n</sup> moor myght bee.  
 Dreed yo noght, for I ame hee.

---

Petrus

One godes name, benedicite!  
     what may this meyne?

---

Jacob<sup>3</sup>

A sprett for sothe, so thynke me,  
     y<sup>t</sup> doos vs teyne.<sup>6</sup>

---

## Johēs

A sprett yt ys, y<sup>t</sup> trow I Reght,  
 y<sup>t</sup> yus Apeyryd here to o<sup>r</sup> syght.  
 yt makes hus mad of mayne and myght,  
     so yt vs ffrayd.  
 yt ys y<sup>e</sup> same y<sup>t</sup> broght y<sup>e</sup> lyght,<sup>7</sup>  
     that vs affrayd.

---

## Jhċ

What thynke ye, made men,<sup>8</sup> in yo<sup>r</sup> thought?  
 what mornyng In yo<sup>r</sup> hartes ys wroght?  
 ffor I ame cryst, ne dred you noght:  
     here may yow see  
 y<sup>e</sup> same body y<sup>t</sup> hays yow bowght  
     vppon a tree.  
 y<sup>t</sup> I anfe come yow here to meytt,  
 be hold and se my handes, my feett,  
 and grathly grapis my wondes weytt<sup>9</sup>  
     all that here ys.  
 yus was I dyght yo<sup>r</sup> balis to beyt,  
     and bryn to blys.  
 for yow yer gattes yus haue I goon.<sup>10</sup>  
 ffelys me grathly euy ylke one,  
 and se y I haue ffleche & bone:  
     grapis me now,  
 ffor so ne hays sprettes none;  
     y<sup>t</sup> shall ye trow.  
 to gayr yow kene,<sup>11</sup> and knaw me clere,  
 I shall yow schew insampylles sere:  
 bryng now forth vnto me here  
     some of yo<sup>r</sup> meyt,  
 yf yow emonges yow all In fere  
     haue owght too eytt.

---

## Jacob3

y<sup>u</sup> louand lord, y<sup>t</sup> last shall aye,<sup>12</sup>  
 loo here ys meyt, yf y<sup>u</sup> eytt may,  
 A hony come, y<sup>e</sup> soth to say,  
     Rochfych yrtill:  
 to eyt y<sup>o</sup> of we wold ye pray  
     wyth full good will.

---

## Jhċ

Now, sens ye haue broght me y<sup>s</sup> meyt,  
 to make yo<sup>r</sup> trowght stedfast & grett,  
 & for ye shall whan hope forgett,<sup>13</sup>  
     & trow In me,  
 w<sup>t</sup> yow now here yen will I eyt;  
     y<sup>t</sup> ye shall see.

now haue I doon, ye haue seen how,  
 bodely here etyn wyth yow.  
 Now stedfastly luke y<sup>t</sup> ye trow  
     yett in me efte;<sup>14</sup>  
 & takes y<sup>e</sup> remland vnto you  
     y<sup>t</sup> here his left.

For yow thus was I rent & rayst:  
 y<sup>o</sup> for some of my panys ye tayst,  
 and speke nore whar yo<sup>r</sup> wordes I wayst  
     here that ye lere;  
 & vnto you y<sup>e</sup> holy goost  
     resave you here.<sup>15</sup>

bes now trow, and trowys In me;  
 and here I grant in your postey,  
 whom y<sup>t</sup> ye bound bondon shalbe  
     Ryght at your steyne,<sup>16</sup>  
 and whom y<sup>t</sup> ye lowys lowsyd shalbe  
     euer moor In hevyn.

---



## Thomas

Alas, for sythe and sorow sad!  
 Mornyng makes me masyd & mad;  
 on grownd now may I goo vnglad,  
     both cyn and morne:  
 y<sup>t</sup> hynd y<sup>t</sup> I my helpe of had  
     his lyff hays lorne.

lorne I haue y<sup>t</sup> luffly lyght  
 y<sup>t</sup> was my master moost of myght,  
 so dulfully as he was dyght  
     was neu<sup>n</sup> no man:  
 such wo was wroght of y<sup>t</sup> worthy wyght  
     w<sup>t</sup> wondis wan.<sup>17</sup>

wan was his wondis, & wonderus weytt,  
 w<sup>th</sup> swapis sore<sup>18</sup> was he swong y<sup>t</sup> swett,  
 all nakytt nalyd throwgh handes & feytt,  
     Alas, for pyne!  
 y<sup>t</sup> blyst y<sup>t</sup> best my balles myght beyt  
     his lyf shuld tyne.

Alas! for sorow my selfe I schened,<sup>19</sup>  
 when I thynke hertely of that hend:  
 I fand hym ay a faythfull frend  
     trewly to tell.

vnto my bredre now wyll I wynd,  
     wher some y<sup>ai</sup> dwell.

So wofull wyghtis was neu<sup>n</sup> none;  
 ovr Joye, ovr comforth is all goon:  
 of mornyng may we make o<sup>r</sup> mone  
     In ylk a land.

God blise you, bredre, blod and bone,  
     same ther ye stand.

---

Petrus .

Welcom, thomas, wher hais y<sup>u</sup> bene?  
 for wyt y<sup>u</sup> well, w<sup>th</sup> owttyn wene,  
 Jhū our lord yen haue wee seen  
                   one grownd here gane.

---

Thomas

What say ye, man? alas! for teyn  
                   I trow ye mang.<sup>20</sup>

---

Johēs

Thomas, trewly yt ys not to layne;  
 Jhū our lord is resyng agane.

---

Thomas

Do way: yo<sup>r</sup> talis is but a trayne  
                   of ffullis vn wyse;  
 For he y<sup>t</sup> was so ffully slayne  
                   hōw suld he Rysse?

---

Jacob<sup>3</sup>

Thomas, lely he ys one lyff<sup>21</sup>  
 y<sup>t</sup> tholyd y<sup>e</sup> Jewys his fleche to Ryfe.  
 he lett vs feyle his wondes fyve,  
                   y<sup>t</sup> lord veray.

---

Thomas

that trow I nott, so moth I thryfe:  
                   why sa ye say?<sup>22</sup>

---

## Petrus

Thomas, we saw his wondes weyt,  
 how he was nalyd throwght handes & feyt.  
 hony and fych w<sup>t</sup> vs he eytt,  
     y<sup>t</sup> body fre.

---

## Thomas

I lay my lyf, yt was some sprett  
     ye wend was hee.<sup>23</sup>

---

## Johēs

Nay, thomas, y<sup>u</sup> hais mys goon;  
 for why he bad vs eu<sup>9</sup>ylkon  
 to grape hym grathly blod and boon,  
     and flesch to feell:  
 such thynges, thomas, hais spretes noone;  
     y<sup>t</sup> wytt thou well.<sup>24</sup>

---

## Thomas

Now, felos, lett be yo<sup>r</sup> fare.  
 tyll that I see y<sup>t</sup> body bare,  
 and syne my fyngers put in ther  
     wyth in his hyd,  
 and feell the wond this sper shere  
     Ryght In his syd,  
 are shall I trow no talis be twene.<sup>25</sup>

---

## Jacob;

Thomas, that wond yen haue we seen.

---

## Thomas

Yay; ye wott neu<sup>9</sup> whatt ye meyne:  
                   your wyttis ye wants.  
 thynke no syne thus me to teyn,\*  
                   and tyll wyth trawntes?<sup>26</sup>

---

## Jhẽ

Peys and Rest be vnto you:  
 and, thomas, tente to me take y<sup>u</sup>  
 put forthe thy fyngers to me now:  
                   My handis y<sup>u</sup> see,  
 how I was nalyd for mans prow<sup>27</sup>  
                   A pone a tree.

Be hold, my wondis ar all bled hand.<sup>28</sup>  
 here In my syd put in thy hand,  
 and ffeell this wond, and onderstand  
                   that yt ys I;  
 And be no morre so mys trowand,<sup>29</sup>  
                   but trow trewly.

---

## Thomas

My lord! my god! full well is mee.  
 A, blod of pryse! blyst myght thou be:  
 Man kynd in erth, be hold and see  
                   this blissed blod.  
 Marcy, lord, now haske I the  
                   w<sup>t</sup> mane and mood.<sup>30</sup>

---

\* This line seems to have been altered thus, chiefly by a marginal addition:  
 "Ye must thynke syne thus me to teyn."

Jhẽ

Thomas, for thow hais seyne this syght,  
y<sup>t</sup> I am Resyng as I the hyght,  
therfor trowys y<sup>t</sup> euerylk wyght,  
          blis be they eũ,  
That trowys holy In my Rysyng ryght,  
          and saw yt neuer.

My bredern frindes, now forth In fere,  
Ouer all in ylk a countrie sere:  
My Rysyng both fare and nere  
          preached shall be,  
And my blissyng I gyve you her,  
          And this menyẽ.<sup>32</sup>

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## NOTES.

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<sup>1</sup> Skryveners.] This word is written in a handwriting of the time upon the ancient parchment cover to the MS., indicating that the Play was acted by the Guild of Scriveners, we may presume, of the City of York.

<sup>2</sup> our lord to sloo] i. e. our Lord to slay. Here and elsewhere we observe the capital or other letters as we find them in the original, in order to give a more exact notion of it, and of the practice of the age.

<sup>3</sup> haytes vs full yle] So the original, but Mr. Croft misread "haytes" *hath*: the meaning of the line is, "These wicked Jews hate us full ill."

<sup>4</sup> Y<sup>o</sup> for I red] *Therefore I advise*. In the next line "here y<sup>t</sup> wee leynd" means *here that we lie or remain*: James advises the disciples not to remove, until Christ send them some succour. After these words we are to suppose that the Saviour either entered, or made himself visible, to the disciples with the words "Peace and rest be unto you."

<sup>5</sup> we wayt not how] We wit, or *know*, not how.

<sup>6</sup> y<sup>t</sup> doos vs teyne] To *teen* or *tene* is a verb, but not so commonly used as the substantive, which has various senses: here "*teyne*" means *annoy, grieve, or vex*—"that does us *annoy*." It occurs afterwards in the form of "*tyne*."

<sup>7</sup> y<sup>t</sup> ys y<sup>e</sup> same y<sup>t</sup> broght y<sup>e</sup> lyght] See what John says before to the same purport. It is clear, therefore, that on the appearance of the Saviour some contrivance was used for producing instantaneous splendour.

<sup>8</sup> what thynke ye, made men] i. e. *mad* men. Croft read *mei* for "men;" and in the next line *harth* for "*hartes*."

<sup>9</sup> and grathly grapis my wondes weytt] i. e. and *readily gripe*, or feel, my *wet* wounds. *Grath* is an adjective of ordinary occurrence, but the adverb is more uncommon, and Richardson in his Dictionary has no example of its use.

<sup>10</sup> for yow ye; gattes yus haue I goon] "For you these *ways* thus have I gone." The Saviour again requires them to use the evidence of their own senses, and to ascertain that he was composed of flesh and bone, which spirits have not.

<sup>11</sup> to gayr yow kene] i. e. "to *make you know*." The word "*gayr*" seems to have been originally miswritten *graz*, and it is corrected in the MS. by interlineation.

<sup>12</sup> y<sup>u</sup> louand lord, y<sup>t</sup> last shall aye] i. e. "Thou *loving* lord, that shall endure for ever." "*Lovand*" is the A.S. participle present, as *leapand, feeland, bleedand*, &c. Croft very absurdly printed "*Then honor'd* lord," &c. The MS. is here very plainly written. The disciples afterwards offer the Saviour honey-comb and roach-fish.

<sup>13</sup> & for ye shall whan hope forgett] "*Wanhope*," usually spelt as one word, though

not so in this MS., is *despair*. Christ eats in order to render the confidence of the disciples firm and great, and for the purpose of banishing their despondency.

<sup>14</sup> yett in me eftē] i. e. yet in me hereafter. The Saviour then bestows the remnant, or what is left, on the disciples present.

<sup>15</sup> & vnto you y<sup>e</sup> holy goost  
resave you here] "Goost" (probably formerly written *gayst*) seems intended to rhyme with "rayst" and "wayst" in previous lines; but the MS. is far from clear in this part of the play, and perhaps was not understood by the scribe. The general import is evident enough.

<sup>16</sup> Ryght at your steyne] "Right at your voice." It was most likely properly written *steyn* by the author, but mistaken by the scribe: it, of course, rhymes with "hevyn" in the next line but one.

<sup>17</sup> w<sup>t</sup> wondis wan] We must take "wan" here in the sense of *faint*, or *languid*, the epithet being applied to the wound, instead of the sufferer.

<sup>18</sup> w<sup>th</sup> swapis sore] With sore *blows* or *strokes*. There is, perhaps, some corruption in the two following lines. A "swape" is still a *whip* in the North of England.

<sup>19</sup> my selfe I schened] To "shend," among other things, means to *destroy*. Thomas says that he mars, undoes, or destroys himself with grief on account of the loss of the Saviour, whom he had always found a faithful friend.

<sup>20</sup> I trow ye mang] Perhaps "mang" is to be considered the provincial pronunciation of *meng*, and then the meaning would be "I trow ye are *confused*." To *meng* is to mingle, and it is so used in the Towneley Miracle-Plays, as printed by the Surtees Society, 8vo. 1836, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> he ys one lyff] He is *alive*. Croft printed, "Thomas lely is our lyff," which is nonsense. In the next line he converted "Ryfe" into *ryse*, by mistaking the *f* for an *s*; and in the corresponding line he converted "thryfe" into *thrye*. "Tholyd," in the next line, means *suffered*.

<sup>22</sup> why sa ye say] Either this is an observation "why, so ye say," or the words have been inverted for the sake of the rhyme, and we ought to read it as a question "why say ye so?"

<sup>23</sup> ye wend was hee] i. e. "I lay my life it was some *spirit* that you *supposed* was he." Jacobus has already used the word *spirit*.

<sup>24</sup> y<sup>t</sup> whytt thou well] The meaning is, "Spirits never have such things, Thomas, that you well *know*."

<sup>25</sup> are shall I trow no talis be twene] "Ere I shall be sure there are no tales between us." The word "fare," in the first line of this stanza, is used in the same way by Chaucer, as quoted by Richardson: "Now, fellows, let be your fare," is, "Now, fellows, put an end to this *ado*."

<sup>26</sup> and tyll wyth trawntes] The meaning seems to be, "Do you think it no sin to grieve me thus, and to put upon me such *inventions*?" There is, possibly, some clerical error in "tyll."

<sup>27</sup> for mans prow] i. e. for man's *benefit* or *advantage*. Chaucer uses "prow" in

this sense: see Tyrwhitt's Glossary; also the Towneley Miracle-Plays, as published by the Surtees Society, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> ar all bled hand] So written in the MS., but properly it ought to be *bleedand*, for bleeding: see note 12 on the word "lovand." Croft read "my wondis are all *bledsand*."

<sup>29</sup> mys trowand] i. e. *misbelieving*, or *unbelieving*.

<sup>30</sup> w<sup>t</sup> mane and mood] Equivalent to "with might and main;" or more properly "main and might," "mood" rhyming with "blod."

<sup>31</sup> And this menye] Referring, of course, to the spectators of the play, assembled round the scaffold, on which the representation took place.

THE  
CHILDE OF BRISTOW,

A POEM

BY JOHN LYDGATE.

---

EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY

CLARENCE HOPPER.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LIX.





## INTRODUCTION.

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THIS interesting little legend, preserved in a volume in the Harleian Collection of MSS. in the British Museum, calendared as "Poems by Chaucer, Dan Lydgate, and others," can hardly be said to have escaped the notice of our antiquaries, since Ritson, in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 71, mentions it, and gives its authorship to Lydgate.

Beyond this notice I know of no other evidence to establish either the date of the poem or its writer, although its simplicity and beauty would not have been unworthy of the author of the *Canterbury Tales*, or that voluminous poetaster Dan\* John.

The story itself would not appear to be an original idea of the poet, for he says, "I found it written in olde hand."

The scene is laid in Bristol, or rather about seven miles from that city, where dwelt a squire of vast possessions and unbounded wealth, acquired by mal-practices, and wrested from the poor.

A usurer, and an ungodly man, he cared not whom he

\* *Dan*, a corruption of *Dom* or *Dam*, the abbreviated form of *Dominus*.

wronged so that he might aggrandise his only son, the "childe of Bristow," desirous that none should surpass him in worldly riches. When his son arrived at the age of twelve, the father took pains to have him well versed in clerkly lore, and desired to give him a year's instruction in the law; but this measure is opposed by the youth, who, in the words of an old saw, thus answers, "They fare full well who learn no law," and announces his determination to follow no other profession than that of "marchantye," and to become bound to a Bristol merchant for seven years. To Bristol accordingly "the childe" goes, and by his courtesy and amiability soon wins the hearts of all who know him. In the mean time, a sudden illness throws the squire on his death-bed, and now the country is sought, far and near, for some one to become his executor. No one will undertake the responsibility of becoming the personal representative of a man whose wealth had been acquired by means so questionable. In the end, in despair, he sends for his son to undertake the office; compelled by the solemn adjuration of his father, the son accepts the charge, but unwillingly, and upon condition that, in a fortnight after that day on which his father's spirit passed away, he would reappear in that same chamber that his son might be certified whether his soul were in weal or woe.

After priestly shrift and ghostly consolation the squire expires, and the pious "childe" sells all his chattels and

distributes the produce in alms, or expends it in masses for the welfare of his father's soul.

The end of the appointed fortnight arrives, and we see the son kneeling in prayer in the dead chamber for half a day, when suddenly, in lightning and thunder, his father's spirit burning like a living coal, with a fiery chain about his neck, stands before him, led by the Evil One. Being conjured to speak, the wretched man explains that his goods were gotten wrongfully, and that he must expiate his ill doings by one hundred years of torment. The son makes him promise to return in another fortnight, and he will endeavour to bring his soul "in better way."

Overwhelmed with sorrow, next day the son departs for Bristol, and sells his inheritance to his master for three hundred pounds.

Thereupon, he gives notice in church and market that if any person whom his father had wronged would come to him, restitution should be made; and by the fortnight's end all his gold is gone.

While at prayer, as before, the spirit again makes his appearance, but this time without the encircling chain, and black, not burning, but full of care. His state being inquired into, he blesses his son, and relates how his bitter chain had fallen off, and his burning agony had ceased, but he must still dwell in pain until his foredoomed time had been fulfilled. On inquiring what was most against him, he explained that he had omitted

the payment of tithes and offerings, and, until they were restored with increase, all prayer would be un-availing.

“The childe” desires another interview at the end of a further fortnight. Forthwith he seeks his master, requesting more gold. The merchant upbraids him with having been given to bad company and gambling, reminds him that all his property is gone, and that he has nought now to sell.

The apprentice hears his reproaches in silence, but offers to become his bond-slave, himself and all his to the world’s end, if he will but advance him forty marks. The kindly merchant lends him forty pounds, and “the childe” craves another fortnight’s leave of absence.

During this time he makes restitution to all the churches near which his father had dwelt. Going “by the street” he is met by a poor man, who tells him that his father was indebted to him for a seam of corn. The youth sorrowfully exclaims, that his silver and gold are gone, but, stripping off his garments, and putting them upon the poor man, he beseeches him to pray for his father’s soul.

Bereft of his gay apparel down “to shirte and breche,” he directs his steps into the dead man’s chamber to pray as before. Suddenly he hears the sound of music, and perceives a brilliant light. A vision of his father’s glorified spirit, in the form of a naked child in angel-hand, appears and blesses him, praying



that God will requite his filial endeavours, and assuring him that he is going to eternal happiness.

"The childe" returns thanks to God, and wends his way to Bristol attired as he was. The worthy merchant, astonished at his plight, wishes to know the reason, when he unfolds to him the whole story. Pleased with such exemplary affection, the master makes him his partner, endows him with all his lands, and marries him to the daughter of a worthy man. At the merchant's death he inherits all his possessions.

The moral of this pretty little composition points at the sin of covetousness, and the blessings attendant upon the observation of the fifth commandment. Like Job in the Holy Scriptures, "the childe of Bristowe"

'First was riche and sitthen bare,  
And sitthen richer than ever he was.'

An harmonious repetition of the first lines of the poem concludes this simple and unaffected tale.

C. H.

*London, March, 1859.*

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## THE CHILDE OF BRISTOW.

---

1 He that made bothe heuene and hell,<sup>a</sup>  
man and woman, in dayes vij,  
and alle shal fede and fille ;  
he graunte us alle his blessyng,  
more and lasse, bothe olde and yong,  
that herkeneth and hold hem stille.

2 The beste songe that ever was made  
ys not worth a lekys blade,  
but men wol tende y<sup>r</sup> till ;  
ther for y pray you in y<sup>s</sup> place  
of your talking y<sup>t</sup> ye be pes,  
yf it be your wille.

3 I found it writen in olde hand,  
that som tyme dwellid in England  
a squyer mykel of myght ;  
he had castels, tounes, and toures,  
feyr forestis and feldes w<sup>t</sup> floures,  
beestis wilde and wight.

<sup>a</sup> Here evidently must be an error in the transcript. To complete the rhythm it should read, "He that made bothe hell and heuene."—*Vide* last stanza.

- 4 To lawe he went a gret while,  
pore men he lerned to begile  
all agayns the right;  
mykel good he gadred togedir,  
all w<sup>t</sup> treson and dedis lether;  
he drad not god almyght.
- 5 The good he gadred togeder than  
he had it of many a pore man,  
the most partye w<sup>t</sup> wrong:  
he had a sone shuld be his heyre,  
of shap he was semely and feyre,  
of lymes large and long.
- 6 So moche his mynde was on y<sup>t</sup> chylde  
he rought not whom begiled,  
worldly good to fong;  
and al to make his sone so riche  
that non other myght hym be liche,  
so ment he ever among.
- 7 When the child was xij yere and more  
his fader put hym unto lore  
to lerne to be a clerke;  
so long he lernyd in clergie,  
til he was wise and wittye,  
and drad all dedis derke.
- 8 The fader seid to his sone dere,  
“to lawe thu shalt go a yere,  
and coste me xx marke;  
for ever the better thu shalt be,  
ther shall no man be gile the  
neyther in worde ne werke.”

- 9 The child answerd w<sup>t</sup> a soft sawe;  
“ they fars ful well y<sup>t</sup> lerne no lawe,  
and so y hope to do;  
that lyue wil y never lede,  
to put my soule in so gret drede,  
to make god my foo.
- 10 To sle my soule it wer routhe;  
any science that is trouthe  
y shall amytte me ther to ;  
for to forsake my soule helthe  
for any wynnyng of worldes welthe,  
that will y never do.
- 11 Hit hath ever be myn avise  
to lede my lyf by marchandise,  
to lerne to bye and selle;  
that good getyn by marchantye,  
it is trouthe, as thenketh me,  
ther w<sup>t</sup> will I melle.
- 12 Here at Bristow dwelleth on  
is held right a juste trew man,  
as y here now telle ;  
his prentys will y be vij yer,  
his science truly for to lere  
and w<sup>t</sup> hym will y dwelle.”
- 13 The squyer unto Bristow rade,  
and w<sup>t</sup> the marchand cownant made,  
vij yere to have his sone;  
he gaf hym gold gret plenté,  
the child his prentys shuld be,  
his science for to conne.

- 14 The child toke ful wel to lore,  
his love was in god evermore;  
as it was his wone,  
he wax so curteise and bolde,  
all merchant; loued hym, yong and olde,  
that in that contré gan wone.
- 15 Leue we now that child thore,  
and of his fader speke we more,  
that was so stoute and bolde;  
he was avaunced so hye,  
there was no man in y<sup>t</sup> contré  
durst don but as he wolde.
- 16 And ever he usid usery,  
he wold not lene but he wyst why  
avauntage dobell tolde;  
tethynges he liste never to pay,  
yf parsons and vicares wold oght say  
he uewid hem cares colde.
- 17 All thyng wol end atte last;  
god on hym soche sekenes cast,  
he myght no leng abide;  
but on his ded bed he lay,  
and drow toward his endyng day;  
for al his power and pride.
- 18 Then he sent for knyghtes and squyers,  
which were his comperys  
in that contré be syde:  
he seid emonges hem everych on,  
“sires, my lyf is ner gone;  
hit may not be denyede.”



- 19 Ther was no man in y<sup>t</sup> contré  
that his executo<sup>r</sup> wold be,  
nor for no good ne ill:  
they seid his good was geten so  
they wold not have y<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> to do,  
for drede of god in heuen.
- 20 He prayed hem, and they seid nay;  
allas ! he seid, and welaway !  
w<sup>t</sup> a rufull stevyn :  
after hissone son he sent,  
evyn to Bristow vereament,  
was thens but myles vij.
- 21 The child to chamber toke his way;  
ther his fader on ded bed lay,  
and asked hym of his chere :  
“sone, (he sed,) wel come to me;  
y ly here now, as y<sup>u</sup> may se;  
my endyng day negheth nere.
- 22 But, sone, thu must be myn heyre  
of al my londes good and faire,  
and my lordships fer and ner;  
ther for, sone, now y pray the,  
myn atto<sup>r</sup>ney that thu be,  
when y am broght to bere.”
- 23 The child answerd w<sup>t</sup> wordes mylde ;  
“ye se, fader, y am but a childe;  
discrecion haue y none,  
to take soche a charge on me,  
by my faith ! that shal not be;  
y can no skyle ther on.

- 24 Here ben knyghtes and squyers,  
which were yo<sup>r</sup> compers,  
and many a worthy man;  
yf y shuld soche on me take,  
that alle these worthi men forsake,  
a fole then wer y one."
- 25 He seid, " y haue no sone but the,  
and myn heire y<sup>n</sup> most nedis be;  
ther may no man sey nay;  
moche good haue y gadred to geder  
w<sup>t</sup> extorcion and dedis lither,  
alas and welaway!
- 26 All this, sone, y gadred for the,  
and thu so sone failest me  
at my nedeful day;  
frendship, sone, is yll to triste,  
eche man be ware of had y wiste,  
god wote, so may I sey."
- 27 " Sone, (he seid,) thu scapest not so;  
that shalt y<sup>n</sup> weten, or thu go;  
he then charge y the  
to fore god thu mothe answer,  
and as thu wilt my blessyng ber,  
myn atto<sup>r</sup>ney that thu be."
- 28 " A fader, ye bynde me w<sup>t</sup> a charge,  
and y shal bynde yow w<sup>t</sup> as large  
as ye bynde now me:  
the same day fortenyght y<sup>t</sup> ye passe,  
y charge yow appere in this place,  
yo<sup>r</sup> spiret lat me se.

- 29 For ye haue bound me so sare,  
now y most nedis, how ever y fare,  
do your coñmaundement;  
ther for y charge yow y<sup>t</sup> ye appere,  
that y may se yō soule here,  
whethir it be saued or shent!
- 30 And that ye do no scathe to me,  
ne none, that shal come w<sup>t</sup> the."  
"sone, (he seid,) y assent,  
but, allas, that y was born;  
that man is soule shuld be lorn  
for my golde or rent."
- 31 Al thyng most ende atte last,  
god soche sekenys on hym cast,  
that he most nedys go:  
the parish prest up was soght;  
the gtiōse saċment w<sup>t</sup> hym he broght,  
that dyed for mannys woo.
- 32 Ther he shrove hym w<sup>t</sup> hert sore,  
and cryed god mercy ever more!  
as it was tyme to do;  
when god wold, he went his way;  
his sones song was "welaway!"  
for hym his hert was wo.
- 33 His sone sought fro toun to toun  
for prestis and men of religioun  
the *Dirige* for to say:  
an C prestis he had and mo;  
gret yeftys he gaf them tho,  
chargyng hem for his fader to pray.

- 34 Yong children had gret hole,  
and pore wyȝmen had gret dole,  
that holpe hym not a day;  
and sitthe broght hym in his pytt,  
as al men must, thei may not flyt,  
whether thei wel or nay.
- 35 When thei had broght hym in his graue,  
his sone y<sup>t</sup> thoght his soule to saue,  
yf god wold gef hym leue;  
al the catel his fader hade,  
he sold it up and money made,  
and labored morow and eve.
- 36 He sought aboute in that contré tho,  
wher any almes myȝht be do,  
and largely he dyd hem yeue  
wayes and brugges for to make,  
and pore men for goddes sake  
he yeaf hem gret releve.
- 37 Who so axed aght, he made her pay,  
and xxx<sup>ti</sup> trental of masses he let say  
for his fadres sake;  
he let never til he had bewared  
all the tresor his fader spared  
a seth to god for to make.
- 38 By y<sup>t</sup> day fortynghtes ende was come;  
his gold was gon all and some;  
(many one of hym spake)  
and al thynges that wer meuable,  
he gaf aboute, w<sup>t</sup> outhen fable,  
to pore men that wold take.

- 39 By than the fourtenyght was broght to ende,  
the child to the chamber gan wende,  
wher his fader dyed;  
a doun he knelid half a day;  
al the good prayers y<sup>t</sup> he couthe say,  
his fader for to abide.
- 40 Be twene mydday and under  
y<sup>r</sup> came a blast of lighntyng and dunder  
thurgh the walles wide;  
as al the place on fire had be;  
the child seid, "*Benedicite!*"  
and fast on god he cryde.
- 41 And as he sate on his prayere,  
sone be fore hym gan appere,  
foule tydynges be twene,  
his faders soule brennyng as glede,  
the deuel by y<sup>e</sup> nekke gan hym lede  
in a brennyng cheyne.
- 42 This child seid, "I cōiure the,  
what so ever y<sup>n</sup> be, speke to me;"  
that other answerd a geyne:  
"y am thi fader that y<sup>e</sup> be gate;  
now thu may se of myn a state;  
lo! how y dwelle in peyne."
- 43 The child seid, "ful woo is me,  
in this plite that yow se;  
it persheth myn hert sore;"  
"sone, (he seid,) thus am y led,  
for be cause of my falshed  
that y used ever more.



- 44 Mi good was getyn wrongfully;  
but it myght restord be,  
and a seth be made ther fore;  
an C yer thus shal y do,  
gef me my trouthe I wer ago,  
for till than my soule is lore."
- 45 "Nay, fader, that shal not be;  
in better plite y wol yow se,  
yf god wol gef me grace;  
but ye shal me yor trouthe plighte  
this same day fourtenyght  
ye shal appere in this place.
- 46 And y shal labore, yf y may,  
to bryng yor soule in better way,  
yf y haue lyf and space."  
he graunted hym in gret hast;  
wt that ther cam a donder blast,  
and bothe ther way gan passe.
- 47 The child had neuer so gret sorwe;  
he rose up apon the morwe,  
to Bristow gan he wende;  
to his mayster he gan say,  
"y haue serued yow many a day;  
for goddes loue be my frend.
- 48 My fader out of this world is past;  
y am come to yow in hast;  
y haue euer founde yow kynde;  
me nedith a litel soñe of gold;  
myn heritage shal be sold,  
crope, rote, and rynde."

- 49 His maister sed, " what nede wer the  
to selle thy thrift so hastely ?  
it wer not for thy prow ;  
yf thu any bargeyn haue boght,  
for gold ne siluer care y<sup>u</sup> nought ;  
y shal lene the right y now.
- 50 An C mark yf thu wilt haue,  
this vij. yer y wil neuer craue ;  
wher for avise the now ;  
for yf thu selle thyn heritage  
that shuld ye holpe in thi yong age,  
an unwise man art thow."
- 51 " Gramercy ! (he seid,) maister hende,  
this was a proffer of a frende ;  
but truly it shal be sold ;  
better chepe ye shal it have  
then any man, so god me saue,  
for nedys y must haue gold."
- 52 He seid, " what is it worth by yer ?"  
" ane C marke of money cler ;  
the stuward this me tolde."  
" then shal y gef the iij. C pound,  
every penny hole and round ;"  
the yong [man] seid, " y holde.
- 53 Dere mayster, y yow pray,  
haue her dedis,—foch me my pay ;  
for y must houe agayn ;  
y haue to do in soundre place,  
y pray yow, of fourtenyght space  
y shal yow quytte certayn."

- 54 His mayster loued hym so wele,  
he fette hym gold euery dele;  
than was y<sup>e</sup> child ful fayn:  
he toke his good, and gan to go;  
and for his fader his hert was woo,  
that bode in so mykel payn.
- 55 His sone lete crie al aboute  
in churches and markettes, w<sup>t</sup> oute doute,  
wher his fader dud wone;  
wher his fader dud destriccion  
to man or woman in any toun,  
they shuld come to his sone.
- 56 And he shal make a seth ther fore,  
and his good ayen restore,  
eche man his porcion;  
ever as they come, he made her pay,  
and charged hem for his fader pray,  
in blisse that he might wone.
- 57 By that the fourtenyght was come,  
his gold was gon al and some;  
then had he ne more:  
in to the chamber he went y<sup>t</sup> tide,  
the same that his fader in dyde,  
and knelid as he dud ore.
- 58 And, as he sate in his prayer,  
the spiret be fore hym gan apper,  
right as he dud be fore;  
saue y<sup>e</sup> cheyn away was caught;  
blak he was, but he brent noght,  
but yet he was in care.

- 59 " Wel come, fader, (seid the childe ;)   
 y pray yow w<sup>t</sup> wordes mylde,   
 tel me of your astate."   
 " sone, (he seid,) the better for the,   
 y blessid mote the tyme be,   
 that euer I the be gate.
- 60 Thou hast releuyd me of moche wo :   
 my bitter chayne is fal me fro,   
 and the fire so hote ;   
 but yet dwel y stille in peyn,   
 and euer must, in certeyn,   
 tyl I haue fulfilled my day."
- 61 " Fader, (he seid,) I charge yow tel me :   
 what is moste ayens the,   
 and doth yow most disese?"   
 " tethynges and offrynges, sone, (he sayd,)   
 for y them neuer truly payd,   
 wherfor my peynes may not cesse :
- 62 But it be restored agayn   
 to as many churches in certayn,   
 and also mykel encresse,   
 all that for me thu dos pray,   
 helpeth me not, to the uttermost day,   
 the valure of a pese.
- 63 Ther for, sone, y pray the   
 gef me my trouthe y left w<sup>t</sup> the,   
 and let me wynde my way."   
 " nay, fader, (he seid,) ye gete it noght,   
 another craft ther shal be soght,   
 yet efte y will assay ;

- 64 But yor trouthe ye shal me plight,  
this same day a fourtenyght  
ye shal come ageyn to yor day;  
ye shall appere her in this place,  
and y shal loke, w<sup>t</sup> goddes grace,  
to amend yow, yf y may."
- 65 The spiret went forth in his way;  
the childe rose up that other day;  
for no thyng wold he lette:  
even to Bristowe gan he wynde;  
ther he mette w<sup>t</sup> his maister kynde;  
wel goodly he hym grette.
- 66 " When y haue nede y come to yow,  
mayster, but ye helpe me now;  
in sorwe my herte is sette;  
me nedeth a litel sume of gold;  
another bargeyn make y wold;"  
and w<sup>t</sup> that word he wepte.
- 67 His maister seid, " y<sup>u</sup> art a fole;  
thu has ben at som bad scole;  
by my fecth y hold the mad;  
for thu has played atte dice,  
or at som other games nyce,  
and lost vp sone y<sup>t</sup> thu had.
- 68 Thu hast right noght y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup> may selle;  
all is gon, as y here telle;  
thi gouernaunce, sone, is bad."  
then he seid until his maister fre,  
" myn owne bodye y wil selle to the,  
for euer to be thy lad.



- 69 Bonde to the y will me bynde,  
me and alle myne, to y<sup>e</sup> worldes ende,  
to helpe me in this nede."  
he seid, "how mykel woldest y<sup>a</sup> haue?"  
"xl mark, and ye wold foche saue,  
for that shuld do my dede..
- 70 I hope that shal my cares kele."  
the burger louyd y<sup>e</sup> child so wele,  
that to his chamber he yede;  
xl pound he gan hym brynge:  
"sone, her is more than thyn askyng;—  
almyghti god the spede!"
- 71 "Gramercy! sire, (gan he say,)  
god yow quytte that best may!  
and trewe ye shal me fynde;  
y have to do a thyng or two,  
a fourtenyght gef me lef to go,  
y have euer founde yow kynde."
- 72 He gaf hym leue; he went his way;  
but on his fader he thoght ay,  
he goth not out of mynde;  
he sought alle y<sup>e</sup> churches in y<sup>t</sup> contré,  
wher his fader had dwellid by,  
he left not one be hynde.
- 73 He made a seth w<sup>t</sup> hem echon;  
by y<sup>t</sup> tyme his gold was gon,  
they couthe aske hym no mare;  
saue as he went by y<sup>e</sup> strete,  
w<sup>t</sup> a pore man gan he mete,  
al most naked and bare.

- 74 "Your fader oweth me for a zeme of corn."  
down he knelid him be forn.  
"for yo<sup>r</sup> faders soules sake;  
and y hym drad ful sare,  
som amendes to me ye make,  
for hym that Marie bare."
- 75 "Welaway! (seid y<sup>e</sup> yong man,)  
for my gold and siluer is gan;  
y haue not for to pay :"—  
of his clothes he gan take,  
and put hem on y<sup>e</sup> pore manis bake,  
chargyng for his fader to pray.
- 76 Hosen and shon he gaue hym tho;  
in sherte and breche he gan go;  
he had no clothes gay,  
in to the chamber he went y<sup>t</sup> tide,  
the same y<sup>t</sup> his fader on dyde,  
and knelid half a day.
- 77 When he had knelid and prayed long,  
hym thoght he herd y<sup>e</sup> myriest song  
y<sup>t</sup> any erthely man myght here;  
after the song, he saw a light,  
as thow a thousant torches bright,  
it shone so faire and clere.
- 78 In that light, so faire lemand,  
a naked child in angel hand  
be fore hym dud appere;  
and seid, "sone, blessid thu be,  
and all y<sup>t</sup> euer shall come of the,  
that euer thu goten were."

79 "Fader, (he seid,) ful wel is me,  
in that plite that y yow se;  
y hone that ye be saue."  
"sone, (he seid,) y go to blisse;  
god almyghti quyte the this!  
thi good ageyn to haue;

80 Thu has made the ful bare  
to aqueynche me of mykel care,  
my trouthe, good sone, y craue."  
"haue yor trouthe (he seid) fre,  
and of thi blessyng I pray the,  
yf that ye wold foche saue."

81 "In that blessyng mote y<sup>u</sup> wone,  
that our lady gaf here sone,  
and myn on the y lay."  
now that soule is gon to blisse  
wt moche ioye and angelis,  
more then y can say.

82 This child thanked god almyght  
and his moder Marye bryght,  
when he sey that aray;  
euen to Bristow gan he gon  
in his sherte and breche allon;  
hed he no clothes gay.

83 When y<sup>s</sup> burges y<sup>e</sup> child gan se,  
he seid then, "*Benedicite!*  
sone, what araye is this?"  
"truly, maister, (seid y<sup>e</sup> childe,)  
y am come me to yelde  
as your bonde man."

- 84 The burges seid anon right,  
"me mervayleth mykel of y<sup>e</sup> sight;  
tel me now how it ys."  
"whatsom euer ye put me to,  
after my power it shall be do,  
while my lyf wil laste."
- 85 "For y<sup>e</sup> loue be twene vs hath be,  
tell me, sone, how it stant w<sup>t</sup> the;  
why thu gos in this way:"  
"Sir, al my good y haue sold, y wys,  
to gete my fader to heuene blys;  
for sothe as y yow say.
- 86 For ther was no man but y,  
that wold be his atto<sup>r</sup>ny  
at his endyng day."  
tho he told hym further,  
how ofte he dud his fader appere,  
and eke in what aray.
- 87 "And now his soule into blisse  
y sey hym led w<sup>t</sup> angelis;  
almyghti god the yelde!  
for thurf your good he is saue,  
and his dere blessing y haue,  
and al my cares be kelde."
- 88 "Sone, (he seid,) blessed mote y<sup>u</sup> be,  
that so pore woldest make the,  
thy faders soule to saue;  
to speke y<sup>e</sup> honor may al mankynde;  
thu art a tristy siker frende;  
soche fynde y but silden;

- 89 But fewe sones ben of tho,  
that wol serue her fader so,  
when he is hens gon;  
certes fynd y many on,  
but none soche as y<sup>u</sup> art on;  
by my fecth y leve not on."
- 90 Hys maister seid, "y shal y<sup>e</sup> tell,  
thu canst both bye and sell;  
here now make y the  
myn owne fellow in al wise  
of worldly good and merchandise,  
for thy trouthe so fre.
- 91 Al so, sone, y haue no childe  
myn heritage for to wilde,  
goten of my body;  
here y make the now myn heyr  
of alle my landes good and faire,  
and myn attorney that y<sup>u</sup> be."
- 92 His maister dud hym weddid be  
to a worthy manis doghter of y<sup>t</sup> contré  
with ioye and grete solace;  
and when his mayster was ded,  
in to all his good he entred,  
landes, catell, and place.
- 93 Thus hath y<sup>s</sup> yong man keuered care;  
first was riche and sitthen bare,  
and sitthen richer then euer he was:—  
now he y<sup>t</sup> made both helle and heuene,  
and all the worlde in dayes seuene,  
graunte vs alle his grace.

*Amen.*



## GLOSSARY.

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abide, *make atonement for, expiate.*  
amytte, *apply.*  
assetth, *satisfaction.*  
ayen, ayens, *against.*  
here, *burial*  
bewared, *expended.*  
brennyng, *burning.*  
brugges, *bridges.*  
but, *unless.*  
can (ken), *know.*  
chepe, *bargain.*  
conne, *learn.*  
disese, *to trouble, to annoy.*  
districcion (destruction), *injury.*  
dole, *grief.*  
dunder, *thunder.*  
efte, *again.*  
ever amonge, *always.*  
fayn, *glad.*  
foch save, *vouchsafe.*  
fong (or fang), *to seize.*  
glede, *a live coal.*  
hende, *gentle.*  
hissone (his'n), *his own.*  
hole (howl), *lamentation.*  
hone, *to long for.*  
houe (hove), *to move.*  
kele, kelde, *cool, cooled.*  
keuered (covered), *recovered.*  
leman, *glittering.*  
lene, *lend.*  
lether, lither, *wicked.*

lette, *omit.*  
leve, *abbrev. for believe.*  
lore, *lost, undone.*  
melle (meddle), *mix.*  
mothe, *must.*  
nyce, *foolish.*  
ore (pro yore), *formerly.*  
pese, *pea.*  
prow, *profit.*  
quytte, *abbrev. for requite.*  
rought, *preterite of to reck.*  
routhe, *pity.*  
shent, *ruined.*  
siker (secure), *safe.*  
sitthen, *afterwards.*  
stevyn, *groan.*  
tende, *abbrev. for attend.*  
tho, *then.*  
thurf, *through.*  
trental, *thirty masses or 30 days of masses.*  
treson (trahison), *grasping.*  
trouthe, *honest.*  
trouthe (troth), *pledge.*  
vereament, *truly.*  
valure, *value.*  
welaway, *an exclamation of woe.*  
weten, *know.*  
wight, *lively, sprightly.*  
wone, *dwell.*  
wone (wont), *custom.*  
yede (hied), *went.*  
zeme (seam), *a quarter of corn.*

SIR EDWARD LAKE'S  
ACCOUNT OF HIS  
INTERVIEWS WITH CHARLES I.  
ON  
BEING CREATED A BARONET,  
AND  
RECEIVING AN AUGMENTATION TO HIS ARMS.

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EDITED BY  
T. P. LANGMEAD, ESQ.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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FROM a love of his sovereign, and a full conviction of the justness of his cause, Dr. Edward Lake, laying aside the gown, took up the sword, and followed his royal master to the battle of Edge-hill. In this engagement he received sixteen wounds ; and having lost the use of his left hand by a shot, he placed his horse's bridle between his teeth, and held out the combat, fighting with his sword in his right hand, till the armies parted by the coming of night.

For this service he was created a Baronet, and received an augmentation to his arms.

The friendly and affectionate part taken by the amiable and unfortunate monarch in the concerns of this loyal subject, is set forth in an original MS. in Sir Edward Lake's own handwriting. Of this MS. his descendant Colonel Noel Thomas Lake, C.B. of the Royal Artillery, kindly lent me a copy some time since, a transcript of which I now submit for publication by the Camden Society.

By the lapse of time and the absence of party feeling, as well as by the more correct and circumstantial information (particularly of an epistolary nature,) which we

possess at the present day, respecting the actions, and secret springs of action, of the principal personages of that troubled epoch of our history, we are compelled (however loth) to admit that the cause of the rebellious party was just, whilst we deplore the extravagancies which they were led to commit. Yet we cannot but admire the spirit of heroism which induced the subject of this notice to quit the peaceful pursuits to which he had been trained, and valiantly to draw his sword in defence of that sovereign and those rights which he conscientiously believed were unjustly assailed. Well might his majesty exclaim (page 14) "For a lawyer, a professed lawyer, to throw off his gown and fight so heartily for me, I must needs think very well of it!"

According to Anthony à Wood, Sir Edward was "educated till he was Bachelor of Arts in St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, whence he retired to Oxon, and entering himself a commoner of St. Alban's Hall, was incorporated in the same degree on the 15th of Dec. 1627; and on the 24th of January following was admitted Bachelor of the Civil Law. After the restoration of King Charles II. I find him to be Chancellor of the Bishop of Lincoln, and a Baronet, as also author of 'Memoranda touching the oath *ex officio*, pretended self-accusation and Canonical Purgation: Together with some notes about the making of some new and alteration



and explanation of some old Laws. *Lond.* 1662. qu'. Dedicated to William Earl of Strafford, and humbly submitted to the consideration of the Parliament then sitting."

In a MS. pedigree in the possession of the family, Sir Edward is described as of "the close of Lincoln, Bart., æt. 66, an. 1666."

He was the eldest son of Richard Lake, of Erby, co. Lincoln, Esq. by Anne, youngest daughter and co-heir of Edward Wardell, of Kealby, in the same county, Esq. He married Anne, eldest daughter and co-heir of Simon Bibye, Esq. of Buckden, Huntingdonshire, by whom he had one son Edward, who died an infant prior to 1666. He died in 1674; and lies buried in the cathedral of Lincoln, where a monument was erected to his memory with this inscription :

Depositum D. Edri Lake, de Norton Episc. in Agro Lincoln. Bart<sup>ti</sup>. LL.D. Dioces. Linc. Cancellar. Regiæ Magestat. p. R<sup>no</sup> suo Hiberniæ Advocati General. ex antiqua familia ejusdem Cognomin. Normantonix juxta Pontefract, in Agro Eboracensi, hic subtus jacet. Qui Deo, Ecclesiæ, Regi, & Patriæ suæ, Pacis & Belli tempore, fideliter inservijt. Honor inde adeptum Cristæ & Insignior. Augmentatio honoraria demonstrat ad annum Ætat. sue p'vectus Die anno a Partu Virgineo 16 Animam Deo reddidit, in Uxor. habuit hic juxta contumulatam Annam Filiam Natu maximam & Cohæredem Simon. Bibye, Armigeri, Fœminam lectissimam, pijssimam, Fortunæ conjugalis, Temporibus durissimis Comitum, Participem patientem, constantem, fidelem maxime.

Un Dieu, un Roy, un Cœur.

Patruo suo charissimo Thomas Lake posuit.

Much curious information is contained in Sir Edward's will, dated April 8th, 1665, with codicils October 6th, 1670, January 17th, 1671, and June 8th, 1674. He desires his "body may be buried in Lincoln Minster, in some convenient place to be appointed by the Deane and Chapter of that Cathedrall, with some decent monumentall Remembrance" to be erected by his executor. He gives "to the church or chappell of Normanton, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire (if there be a church or chappell there, which I know not,) where my paternall ancestors have lived for many years," a clock, and a sum "for the maintaining and keeping of it for ever."\* He mentions

\* In Normanton Church is this inscription :—

Edwardus Lake de Norton Episcopo, in  
Comitatu Lincolniensi Eques Auratus  
LL.D. Dioceseos Lincolniensis Cancellarius  
In Majorum memoriam qui olim in hoc oppido  
Normantonie habitaverunt, hoc Horologium  
Dedit, ac etiam decem solidos ad reparationem  
Ejusdem annuatim in perpetuam solvendo  
Deo et Carolis Regibus dominis suis  
Presertim, Carolo Martyri Pacis et Belli  
Tempore fideliter nec non insigniter inserviit.  
Et animam Deo pie reddidit 18 die Julii anno  
Etatis sue 77 annoq. Domini 1674.  
Et Ecclesia Cathedrali Beatæ Mariæ Lincoln.  
Sepultus jacet.

There is a difference of three years in Sir Edward's age as here recorded, and as stated in the pedigree before quoted, "Æt. 66 an. 1666."

his "loveing kinsman Henry Bigland, of Morninghurst, Sussex, Esq.," and his brother "Mr. Edward Bigland, of Graies Inn, Barrister;" also his "servant and kinsman Christopher Lake;" he orders the sale of all his "estate real and personall in Ireland;" he charges his "executor" [Thomas Lake, of Boston, in New England] "upon the fraternall and true love that is betwixt us," that the "heirs male for ever may for their Christian name have the name *Biby*, the paternal name of my deare wife; or *Seaman*, in remembrance of my deare wife's mother's surname; or of *Caley*, in remembrance of Sir Hugh Caley, knight, whose co-heir my ancestor in the time of king Edward the Third married; or *Wardall*, in remembrance of my mother, daughter and co-heir of Edward Wardall." He names his "cosin Francis Lake, of Hatcliffe;" his "brother John Lake;" "the eldest son of my brother Luke Lake;" and appoints his "most dear and loving brother Thomas Lake, executor;" leaving all his goods and lands, after his wife's death, to the said Thomas Lake and his heirs. The witnesses were "Sam. Lawson, Jo. Procter, Geo. Noel, Chr. Lake."

In the codicil of October 6th, 1670, made at Caistor, he mentions his wife's death, and makes "Stephen Lake of Grayes Inn, gent. eldest son of my said brother Thomas Lake, sole executor;" he names his "kinsman

Francis Lake of Hatcliffe;" and "Christopher Lake of Harpswell, and to such of my name and kindred as live at Tetwey;" "Mr. Richard Whyngates agent for my lord the earle of Strafford in Ireland;" and mentions the "rent of Carnow and Cranyh in Ireland due to me before I did give up my lease thereof to my lord of Strafford." By a codicil made at his "house within the close of the cathedrall church of Lincoln," January 17th, 1671, "Stephen being since dead, I doe in his stead and place make Thomas Lake his brother my executor," &c. By a codicil dated June 7th, 1674, Sir Edward "of Bishop's Norton, in the county of Lincoln," wills, among other things, "to be buried in Lincolne Minster, as neere as may be to my dear wife, if the deane and chapter will give leave, if not, at Norton: my funerall to be very private; some escucheons."

A fine oil portrait of Sir Edward, representing him in armour, is preserved in the family. It is at present in the possession of Lady Lake (relict of Sir James Samuel Lake the late baronet, and now the wife of Dr. Mitchelson). An engraving of this portrait, with Sir Edward's autograph and seal, may be seen in Thane's "British Autography," vol. iii.

Sir Edward's father married secondly, Anne daughter of  
Morelly of Claxby, co. Lincoln, Esq. by  
whom he had Thomas Lake, mentioned in his brother



Sir Edward's will. This Thomas Lake emigrated to Boston in New England about the year 1648. He married Mary daughter of Stephen Goodyear of London, goldsmith, who was deputy-governor of New Haven colony from 1641 to 1650, but returned to and died in London in 1658, probably early in the year, for "an inventory of the estate of the right worshipful Stephen Goodyear, Esq. the late deputy-governor of this colony," was taken October 15th, 1658. The Boston records furnish the dates of birth of all the children of Thomas and Mary Lake, of whom Thomas was born February 9th, 1656, barrister, heir of Sir Edward; and a daughter, Ann Lake, who was born October 12th, 1663, and married 1st. the Rev. John Cotton, of Hampton, New Haven, and 2ndly. the Rev. Increase Mather, D.D. of Boston. To her descendant, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq. of Boston, U. S., I am indebted for the above information.

Thomas Lake, brother of Sir Edward, died 16th August, 1676, aged 61 years, and was succeeded by his son Thomas Lake, of Bishop's Norton, co. Lincoln, and of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Story, Esq. of Kniveton, Derbyshire, and died the 22d of May, 1711, leaving a son, Bibye, and a daughter, Mary. He was buried in the Temple Church, where is a monument, surmounted by



his armorial bearings, and containing the following inscription : \*

M. S.  
Neer this Place lye interred  
The Remains of Tho. Lake, Esq.  
Utter Barrister of the  
Hon. Society of the Middle Temple;  
Nephew and Heir of  
Sir Edw. Lake,  
Late of Bishop's Norton, in the  
County of Lincoln, who for  
His Loyalty and Valour, signalized  
At Edgehill Fight, was created Baronet,  
By K. Charles I.  
He died May 22, in the 54th  
Year of his Age,  
An. Dom. MDCCXI.

Notwithstanding the baronetcy was granted to Sir Edward, "and the heirs male of his body begotten or to be begotten for ever; and for want of such heirs male, then to the *heirs male of Sir Edward for ever*," neither his brother nor nephew took out the patent; but his

\* It may be worth remarking that the arms of Sir Edward Lake (Sable, a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchée, argent. Crest, a sea-horse's head, argent, finned or, charged on the neck with three bars gules) were the same as those borne by Edward Lake, D.D. whose Diary was published in the first volume of the Camden Miscellany, 1846, though his degree of relationship to the baronet is not known. Dr. Lake's eldest daughter and coheir was married, in 1695, to the Rev. William Taswell, D.D. whose "Autobiography" was published by the Camden Society in 1852.

grandnephew, Bibye Lake, sub-governor of the African Company, “in 1711, laid the said grant before the Earl of Oxford in order for a patent; but the said Earl (thro’ the then hurry of affairs) lost the said grant, though her Majesty [Queen Anne] being well satisfied with the services of Edward Lake, did grant a new one, tho’ with precedency only from the date thereof.”

The descendants of Sir Edward have not been unmindful of the bravery of their ancestor: at the ever memorable siege of Kars, Sir Fenwick Williams was ably assisted by Colonel Henry Atwell Lake (brother of the late baronet); and the present baronet, Sir Atwell King Lake, is now serving with his regiment in India.

On the Restoration, Sir Edward obtained a patent from Sir William Dugdale, confirming the armorial augmentations granted by the late King: of this a copy has been appended to his MS.

T. P. LANGMEAD.

King’s Coll. London.



# SIR EDWARD LAKE'S ACCOUNT

## OF HIS

### INTERVIEWS WITH CHARLES I.

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AFTER I had made my escape from my imprisonment at Mr. Bent's at Crosby, where I was kept seven weeks after the battle of Edge-Hill, I went to Bangor, in Caernarvonshire, in Christmas, 1642; there I writ to Dr. Steward,\* the clerk of the closet at Oxford, certifying in what condition I was, and of the hurts I received at Edge-Hill; and he sent me back an answer, desiring me to send up the certificate thereof, under the surgeon's hand, which afterwards I did, under the hands of Mr. John Angell, the physician,

\* Dr. Richard Steward was of Magdalen Hall, Oxon. in 1608, and Fellow of All Souls' Coll. in 1613. He had several preferments, and was made Clerk of the Closet about 1634 in the room of Dr. Matthew Wren. While at the university "he was accounted a good poet and orator, and after he had left it a noted divine, eloquent preacher, and a person of a smart fluent style. In the beginning of the Rebellion he suffered much for the King's cause, lost all, and at length retiring to France became a great champion for the Protestant cause at Paris. When he lay upon his death-bed at Paris, in November 1651, King Charles II. gave him two visits, being then newly-arrived there from his escape from Worcester fight, and his concealment in England." For fuller particulars, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* and *Hist. of Northamptonshire* by Bridges, vol. i. p. 269.

Clarendon (*Life*, p. 124, edit. fol.), describes him as "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church, upon which his heart was most entirely set."

and Mr. Edward Loffinan, the surgeon, both of Leicester, who were employed upon my cure. The next year, about a fortnight after Michaelmas, I went out of Wales towards Oxford, where I came about the 20th of October, 1643. Dr. Steward wished me not to come into the King's presence till the 23d day of that month, the anniversary day of "Edge-Hill," which he the said King intended to keep solemnly, with public thanksgiving for the victory \* on that day—and upon that day, a little before dinner, in the presence chamber at Christ Church, I kissed his Majesty's hand, Dr. Steward being with me, who said to his Majesty, as I was going to kiss his hand, "Sir, this day twelvemonths the doctor was in another case" (Dr. Steward having formerly, as he told me, shewed his Majesty that certificate of my hurts received at the battle of Edge-Hill). His Majesty, looking upon me, said, "It is true you lost a great deal of blood for me that day, and I shall not forget it, but you shall be remembered for it both by way of Armory and *otherwise*." Then looking upon Dr. Steward, and others standing by, said, "For a lawyer, a professed lawyer, to throw off his gown and fight so heartily for me, I must needs think very well of it." I humbly thanked his Majesty for his gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours to serve him, and praised God for preserving me for further service to his Majesty, to the best of my power and according to my bounden duties. "And Doctor (said the King, bending his head a little towards me) I have reason to believe it," and so went into the privy chamber.

About two months after, his Majesty sent me to Worcester, then garrisoned by Sir Gilbert Gerard,† the King's governor there, to whom his Majesty writ, which letter signified to him the loss of my

\* Both sides claimed the victory.

† Sir Gilbert Gerard was the son of Hatcliffe Gerard, Esq. of Hatsall, co. Lancaster, (by Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Somerset, K.B. and grand-daughter of Edward Earl of Worcester), and uncle to Charles Gerard, who for his distinguished services to Charles I. was created Baron Gerard on the 8th of Nov. 1645, and after the restoration Earl of Macclesfield.



estate in England and Ireland by the Rebellion, and sixteen wounds which I received at the battle of Edge-Hill. With this letter, about the beginning of Christmas, I went down to Worcester, and taking my leave of Dr. Steward, he (whether his Majesty had when he signed that letter, or at any other time, spoken to him thereof, I know not, but most probably he had,) asked me whether I had drawn up that note, touching an addition in Armory, which the King said he would give me when I kissed hands on the anniversary day of Edge-Hill. I told him I had done nothing therein. He bade me advise with some Herald thereupon, and draw up a note to that purpose for the King to sign, and to leave it with him. I did thereupon advise with Sir William Le Neve, but did not acquaint him with the King's word touching Armorie, and, after I had talked with him, I drew up such a note for his Majesty's signature, mentioning only that Coat of Augmentation (without any mention of one of the Lions of England) and the Crest. This note I left with Dr. Steward; and the next summer, his Majesty coming to Worcester, and Dr. Steward with him, the Doctor gave me this Docquet, signed by his Majesty, and attested by the Doctor, touching the baronetship and arms.

*The Docquet* (copied from Sir Edward Lake's own handwriting).

Signed, "CHARLES REX."

"Whereas our trusty and well-beloved Edward Lake, Dr. of Laws and Advocate General for our Kingdome of Ireland, in all causes Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Maritime, hath done us faithful and good service, both in Ireland, whence he was expelled by the rebels there, with the loss of his estate and employment, and also in England, more especially at the battle of Edge-Hill, receiving sixteen wounds, to the extreme danger of his life, ever since being deprived of his estate here, we cannot but look upon him as a subject well deserving of us. We intend to repair in his estate and otherwise to reward him, and in the mean time we do hereby create him Baronet, and do give him the making of a baronet, not doubting that he will

recommend any person for that dignity but such a one who for his condition and quality shall be fit for the same, and for his further encouragement, and as a mark of our especial favour towards him; Whereas in that battle of Edge-Hill " he received sixteen wounds, and his left arm being by a shot wounded he was disabled, he held his bridle in his teeth, fighting with his right hand:" Therefore we do hereby give him for a Coat of Augmentation. to be borne before his own: In a field gules, a right arm arm'd, carrying upon a sword a banner argent, charged with a cross betwixt sixteen shields, four in each quarter of the first, and in the umbelique point one of our own lions of England. And for a Crest to the same Coat of Augmentation: A chevalier in a fighting posture, his left arm hanging down useless, and holding a bridle in his teeth, his scarf red, his sword, face, armes, and horse, cruentated. To have and to hold the said dignity of a Baronet to the said Edward Lake, and the heirs male of his body begotten, or to be begotten, for ever, and for want of such heirs male then to the heirs male of the same Edward for ever, and to have and to hold the same Coat of Augmentation, with the Crest aforesaid, to him the said Edward and his heirs, and all descending from him and them for ever. All this to be put in form into his Patent.

"Given at our Court at Oxford, the xxx day of December, in the year 1643.

"To all the officers and ministers whomsoever whom under these presents shall any ways concern."

Of the addition of one of the lions of England in the coat of augmentation (in which the eight points, four in each quarter, are memorial of the sixteen wounds he received, the lion of England being placed in the centre of the standard in the additional crest), and besides to have the nomination of a baronet and to be a baronet myself, being altogether beyond my expectation, I asked the doctor the reason thereof. He told me that presently on my going to Worcester from Oxford he shewed his Majesty that note for the

coat of augmentation which I left with him. His Majesty read it and said, "I deserved more and should have more. I should have one of his own lions too, and I should have the making of a baronet, and that I should be a baronet myself." And his Majesty himself, with his own hand, interlined some words touching the bearing of that lion, and for the nomination of a baronet, and the creation of me to be a baronet, and bad the doctor bring it to him written more at large; whereupon the doctor, within a day or two after, brought it written as it is here to his Majesty, which he signed, and said to him, "Doctor, you shall be secretary for this business; set your hand to it and witness my signature, and tell Dr. Lake that he may keep this awhile by him, and not take out the patent till I shall better provide for him." And the same day at Worcester as before when Dr. Steward had told me this, which was at the lord bishop's palace at Worcester, I went with him into the presence, and there kissed his Majesty's hand, who said to me thus, "The doctor there (looking at Dr. Steward), I suppose, has told you my mind." I said, "Yes, sir;" and most humbly I thanked his Majesty for his exceeding favours to me. Then his Majesty, being, as it seemed, in haste upon business, went out of the presence, and, as he was going, looked back towards me and beckoned to me, and I made my address to him, who said thus to me, "Doctor, if you will you may keep that awhile by you (meaning the aforesaid docquet), and not take out the patent till I shall *better* provide for you, which I hope I shall doe ere long;" and so he went away, and I kept this by me as thou seest.

Copy of a Patent under the hand and seal of Sir William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, confirming the Armorial Augmentations to Sir Edward Lake.

Universis et singulis ad quos hoc pseñs scriptum p̃vñit Gulielmus Dugdalus, armig<sup>r</sup> Rex armorum borealium hujus regni Angliæ partium (Norroy vulgo denominatus) salutem. Quum serenissim<sup>9</sup>

princeps ⁊ nuper dominus noster beatæ memoriæ Carolus primus Dei grā Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, ⁊ Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defensor, ꝑc. mandato suo manu suâ regali signato dato tricesimo die mensis Decembris aîo regni sui decimo nono Edvardo Lake legum doctori dedit et concessit prout in tenore ejusdem mandati continentur cujus quidem verum exemplar ⁊ copia ex sermone Anglicano quo sub manu regali ut præfuitur constat in linguam Latinam per me fideliter versa ⁊ translata est ⁊ cum originali examinata ⁊ collata ⁊ cum eodem concordans hic subsequitur, vizt. Carolus R. Quum fidelis ⁊ dilectus Edvardus Lake legum doctor pro regno nostro Hiberniæ in omnibus causis ecclesiasticis civilibus ⁊ maritimis advocatus noster generalis bonum ⁊ fidele tam in Hibernia quam in Anglia præstitit nobis servitium atq. officium atq. exinde in utroq. regno fortunarum suarū perpersus est jacturam quas quum Deus nobis reddiderit vires ⁊ potentium illi reparare ulteriusq. compensare intendimus. Idcirco ex regia nostra voluntate ⁊ bene placito dicto Edvardo Lake nominationem ⁊ creationem unius baronetti per presentes concedimus ut virum dotibus ⁊ virtute præditum dignitatem illam merentibus nominabit confidentes; necnon in vltcrius dicti Edvardi Lake excitamentum in specialem servitiū ⁊ officii sui prodigus ⁊ m̃gis particulariter prælio Monte Clivensi (vulgariter nuncupa Edge-Hill) quo sexdecim in vitæ suæ periculum et discrimen extremum recepit vulnera Brachiiq. sui sinistri sclopeti ictu mutilati vices supplebant lora predentes dentes acceptacionis nostræ gratiosæ notam signalem baronettiam illi conferimus ipsumq. Edvardum Lake baronettum per presentes creamus. Ac insuper scutum augmentationis præ suo proprio gestandum dicto Edvardo Lake donamus et concedimus ut sequitur, vizt. In campo rubeo brachium dextrum armatum vaginatum super gladium erectum portans vexillum argentium expansum cum cruce primi inter sexdecim scuta ejusdem ⁊ in medio unum e leonibus Angliæ et pro crista equitem cataphrætum (chevalier vulgo) pugnantis figura cum fascia rubea brachio sinistro mutilato ⁊ dependente lora dentibus preudentem cui gladius equus et arma cruentata Habendum ⁊ gaudendum dicta



baronettia dicto Edvardo Lake et hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis vel procreandis ⁊ pro defectu talium hæredum hæredibus masculis dicti Edwardi Lake ac dictum scutum augmentationis unacum crista prædicta dicto Edvardo Lake ⁊ hæredibus suis omnibusq; abeo ⁊ abeis in perpetuum descendentibus. Omnia hæc in literis nostris patentibus formaliter exprimenda sunt. Datum ad Aulam nostram Oxonii, tricesimo die Decembris, anno regni nostri decimo nono. Quapropter ego Gulielmus Dugdalus, Norroy Rex armorum prædictus omnibus ⁊ singulis quos hoc præsens aliququaliter tangere poterit declaro publico et notum facio per præsentem quod dictus Edward<sup>s</sup> Lake nunc de villa Nottinghamiæ inhabitans ⁊ hæredes sui omnesq; ab eo ⁊ abeis in perpetuum descendentes dicto scuto augmentationis et cristâ prædictâ in dicto mandato regali mentionatis secundum tenorem ejusdem sicut eadem hic in margine depinguntur (unusquisq; tamen sub illa differentia juxta leges armorum gradui suo propriâ) licite utigerere ⁊ portare potest ac possunt. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus nomen meum propriâ manu subscripsi ⁊ sigillum officii mei apposui datum duodecimo die mensis Junii, anno regni domini nostri Caroli Secundi, Dei gratiâ magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis fidei defensoris, 7c. decimo tertio, annoq; Domini MDCLXI.

GULIELMUS DUGDALE, Norroy.



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THE LETTERS  
OF  
POPE TO ATTERBURY  
WHEN  
IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

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EDITED BY  
JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.LIX.

THE first and second Letters of Pope, which are here printed (pp. 7 and 14) are copied on a sheet of paper in the collection of George Wentworth, esq. of Woolley Park, Yorkshire, by whom they were kindly communicated, at the suggestion of Dr. Sykes of Doncaster. That transcript is evidently contemporary. Correspondent copies of the same letters have since been found in Cole's MSS. at the British Museum, MS. Addit. 5822, fol. 105. They were derived by Mr. Cole from the papers of the Rev. Dr. Williams of St. John's college, Cambridge: and Cole has appended the following note: "It may be those Letters might have been communicated by the Bishop of Rochester to Dean Moss, with whom he was in a particular degree of friendship and correspondence at this time, as is evident from some letters in vol. 30 [of Cole's MSS.] p. 150; who might communicate them to Dr. Grey or Dr. Williams."

## ATTERBURY IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

---

How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour!  
How shin'd the soul, unconquered in the Tower!—POPE.

---

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester, was a man whose brilliant talents, and ready application of them, stood him in the stead of profound learning and of political integrity, for both of which he acquired an unmerited reputation. This, as was natural, was especially the case with those who were his intimate and partial friends, and whose own sentiments and sympathies had a similar bias in matters of politics and religion. Even towards such associates he behaved with so much art and duplicity,<sup>a</sup> that they had no suspicion of the traitorous correspondence in which he had engaged, and appear to have really deemed him guiltless upon the charges which led to his exile.

Among the most ardent and devoted of Atterbury's admirers was the poet Pope, who, in a letter<sup>b</sup> to Gay, dated on the 11th Sept. 1722, writes:

“Pray tell Dr. Arbuthnot that even pigeon-pyes and hog's-

<sup>a</sup> If any reader should still think this term too harsh, let him say how otherwise the following passage can be characterised: “To be quiet, and live to myself, with the few, the very few, friends I like, is the point, the single point, I now aim at; though I know the generality of the world, who are unacquainted with my intentions and views, think the very reverse of this character belongs to me.” *Letter to Pope*, April 6, 1722, written by Atterbury just one week before his letter or message to the Earl of Mar, in which we intimated the resumption of correspondence with “Mr. Hacket” (*i. e.* the Earl of Oxford,) as a step of no small consequence to the Pretender's service. See *The Stuart Papers*, 1847, i. 65.

<sup>b</sup> There are two letters of Pope to Gay which bear the date of the 11th Sept. 1722. That which is printed in the edition of 1737, as Letter CLIII. at p. 248, commencing,

puddings are thought dangerous by our governours; for those that have been sent to the Bishop of Rochester are open'd and prophanely pry'd into at the Tower. 'Tis the first time that dead pigeons have been suspected of carrying intelligence. To be serious,—you, and Mr. Congreve, (nay, and the Doctor if he has not dined,) will be sensible of my concern and surprize at the commitment of that Gentleman, whose welfare is as much my concern as any friend's I have. I think my self a most unfortunate wretch. I no sooner love, and, upon knowledge, fix my esteem to any man, but he either dies like Mr. Craggs,<sup>a</sup> or is sent to imprisonment like the Bishop. God send him as well as I wish him, manifest him to be as innocent as I believe him, and make all his enemies know him as well as I do, that they may love him and think of him as well! If you apprehend this period to be of any danger in being address'd to you, tell Mr. Congreve or the Doctor it is writ to them."

And in another letter, written to Swift, on the 12th Jan. 1723-4:

"It is sure my ill fate that all those I most loved, and with whom I most lived, must be banished. After both of you [that is, Swift and Bolingbroke] left England, my constant Host was the Bishop of Rochester."

In one of Pope's Letters to a Lady, dated the 2d of June 1723, he writes, "I am at present in the afflicting circumstance of taking my last leave of one of the truest friends I ever had, and one of the greatest men in all polite learning, as well as the most

"I think it obliging," had been originally published in the Svo. of 1735, (vol. i. p. 201,) without a date. The other, which is that here quoted, commencing, "I thank you," is the one really written on the 11th Sept. 1722, which date it bears in the Svo. It has there some passages relative to the Duchess "of M.," and "ladies in and about Richmond," the Mrs. Blounts, Mrs. Pulteney, and Dr. Arbuthnot, which are not preserved in the edition of 1737, and have never been restored since. Among the other alterations, in the passages above quoted the expression "the Doctor *if he has not dined*," and the words "they may love him and think of him as well," are suppressed.

<sup>a</sup> The Right Hon. James Craggs, Secretary of State, died Feb. 16, 1720; and Pope wrote the poetical epitaph placed on his monument in Westminster Abbey.



agrecable companion, this nation ever had. . . . So that indeed I want comfort."

Again, in one of his letters to Edward Blount, esquire, dated on the 27th June, 1723, Pope wrote as follows:

"Life's vain Amusements, amidst which we dwell,  
Not weigh'd or understood by the grim God of Hell !

said a heathen poet, as he is translated by a Christian Bishop, who has, first by his exhortations, and since by his example, taught me to *think* as becomes a reasonable creature.<sup>a</sup> But he is gone! He carry'd away more learning than is left in this nation behind him: but he left us more in the noble example of bearing calamity well. 'Tis true we want literature very much; but pray God we don't want patience more if these precedents are to prevail."<sup>b</sup>

Atterbury was arrested on the 24th of August, 1722, at his deanery of Westminster; examined before the privy council, and committed to the Tower. On the 11th of March following, a Resolution passed the House of Commons,

"That Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable conspiracy for invading these kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising insurrections and a rebellion at home, in order to subvert the present happy establishment in Church and State, by placing a popish Prefender upon the Throne."

This Resolution was followed by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which, on the 9th of April, 1723, was sent to the House of Lords for

<sup>a</sup> "Atterbury," says Dr. Johnson, "had honestly recommended to him the study of the Popish controversy, in hope of his conversion; to which Pope answered in a manner that cannot much recommend his principles, or his judgment. [See his Letter to Atterbury, dated Nov. 20, 1717.] In questions and projects of learning they agreed much better. . . . At their last interview at the Tower, Atterbury presented him with a Bible." (See hereafter, p. 16.)

<sup>b</sup> The four last lines were not printed with the letter when Pope first gave it to the world, in 1737.

their concurrence. On the following day the Bishop addressed the following letter <sup>a</sup> to his friend Pope:

“DEAR SIR,

The Tower, April 10, 1723.

“I thank you for all the instances of your friendship, both before and since my misfortunes. A little time will compleat them, and separate you and me for ever. But in what part of the world soever I am, I will live mindful of your sincere kindness to me, and will please myself with the thought that I still live in your esteem and affection as much as ever I did, and that no accidents of life, no distance of time or place, will alter you in that respect. It never can me; who have lov'd and valu'd you ever since I knew you, and shall not fail to do it when I am not allow'd to tell you so,—as the case will soon be. Give my faithful services to Dr. Arbuthnot, and thanks for what he sent me; which was much to the purpose, if anything can be said to be to the purpose in a case that is already determin'd. Let him know my Defence will be such, that neither my friends need blush for me, nor will my enemies have great occasion for Triumph, tho' sure of the Victory. I shall want his advice before I go abroad, in many things. But I question whether I shall be permitted to see him, or any body, but such as are absolutely necessary towards the dispatch of my private affairs.<sup>b</sup> If so, God bless you both! and may no part of the ill fortune that attends me ever pursue either of you! I know not but I may call upon you at my hearing, to say something about my way of spending my time at the Deanery, which did not seem calculated towards managing Plots and conspiracies. But of that I shall consider.—You and I have spent many hours together upon much pleasanter subjects; and, that I may preserve the old custom, I shall

<sup>a</sup> Published by Pope with his own letters, in 1737.

<sup>b</sup> The Bishop's confinement was extremely rigorous. “Even his son-in-law Mr. Morice was not permitted to speak to him in any nearer mode than standing in an area, whilst the Bishop looked out of a two pair of stairs window.” Advertisement to Atterbury's Correspondence, 1783.

not part with you now till I have clos'd this letter with three lines of Milton, which you will (I know) readily and not without some degree of concern apply to,—Your ever affectionate, &c.

*"Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them soon :  
The world was all before him, where to choose  
His place of rest, and PROVIDENCE HIS GUIDE."*

It was in answer to this letter that Pope composed the following very studied Epistle, which is now printed from the transcripts already mentioned in the introductory Advertisement. When published by its writer (some fourteen years after), its elaborate diction was still further polished, as if it had been a favourite poem.<sup>a</sup>

*"Mr. Pope to the Bishop of Rochester, before the Bill pass'd.*

"MY LORD,—It is not possible to express w<sup>t</sup> I think and w<sup>t</sup> I feel, only this, that I have thought and felt for nothing but YOU for some time past, and shall think of nothing so long for the time to come. The greatest comfort I had, was an intention (w<sup>ch</sup> I wou'd have made practicable) to have attended You in Your JOURNEY, to w<sup>ch</sup> I had brought the person <sup>b</sup> to consent, who only cou'd have hindered me, by a tye, which, tho' it may be more tender, I do not think can be more strong than that of FRIENDSHIP: but now I find

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<sup>a</sup> In order to shew these variations completely, the whole letter is added below from Pope's Letters (as first edited by himself) in quarto, 1737.

<sup>b</sup> Here Pope alludes to his mother.

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"April 20, 1723.

"It is not possible to express what I think, and what I feel; only this, that I have thought and felt for nothing but you, for some time past: and shall think of nothing so long for the time to come. The greatest comfort I had was an intention (which I would have made practicable) to have attended you in your journey, to which I had brought that person to consent, who only could have hindered me, by a tye which, tho' it may be more tender, I do not think more strong, than that of friendship. But I fear there will be no way left me to tell



that malice, w<sup>ch</sup> cou'd no more be foreseen than one cou'd think it cou'd be contriv'd by any human Creature, has render'd every friendly way, every grateful thought towards you impracticable: I fear there will be no way left me to tell You this great truth, that I remember You, that I love You, that I entirely esteem and value You, but one, w<sup>ch</sup> I will find, even tho' it were death to correspond with you; a way w<sup>ch</sup> no bills can preclude, a way w<sup>ch</sup> may reach to any part of the world where you may be, when the very whisper or even wish of a Friend must not be heard, or even suspected: By this I dare tell my Esteem and Affection for you to the enemies in the Gates, and their sons shall hear it.

“ You prove yourself, My Lord, to know me for the zealous Friend I am, in judging that your manner of Defence, and Glory in it, is a point of the highest Concern to me, & assuring y<sup>t</sup> it will be, it shall be such, that none of Your friends shall blush for you. Let me farther prompt You, to do Your self the best, the lasting JUSTICE; the establishing your fame to POSTERITY will be in your own hands: May it not be that Providence has appointed You to some great and usefull work, and calls You to it this severe way? You more eminently and more effectually serve the publick,

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you this great truth, that I remember you, that I love you, that I am grateful to you, that I entirely esteem and value you: no way but that one, which needs no open warrant to authorize it, or secret conveyance to secure it; which no bills can preclude, and no Kings prevent; a way that can reach to any part of the world where you may be, where the very whisper, or even the wish of a friend must not be heard or even suspected. By this way I dare tell my esteem and affection of you to your enemies in the gates; and you, and they, and their sons may hear of it.

“ You prove your self, my lord, to know me for the friend I am; in judging that the manner of your Defence, and your Reputation by it, is a point of the highest concern to me: and assuring me it shall be such, that none of your friends shall blush for you. Let me further prompt you to do your self the best and most lasting justice. The instruments of your Fame to posterity will be in your own hands. May it not be, that Providence has appointed you to some great and useful work, and calls you to it this severe way? You may more

even now, than in the Stations You have so honourably fill'd:— Think of Tully, Bacon, & Clarendon.<sup>a</sup> Is not the latter, the most Disgrac'd part of their lives, what You envy, and what You must chuse to have lived?

“I am tenderly sensible of the wish You express, that no part of [your] misfortune may pursue me; But God knows how short a time we may be suffer'd, or we may be desirous to be suffer'd, to live in this Country; I am every day less and less fond of it, and begin seriously to consider a Friend in Exile a Friend in Death, one gone before, where I am not unwilling or unprepar'd to follow after; and where, however various or uncertain the road may be, I cannot but entertain a pleasing hope, that we may meet again.

“This I faithfully assure you, that in the mean time there is no one living or dead, of whom I shall think oftner or better than of You. I shall look upon You as in a state between both, in w<sup>ch</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Upon this passage it was remarked by Bishop Warburton. “Clarendon indeed wrote his best works in his banishment; but the best of Bacon's were written before his disgrace, and the best of Tully's after his return from exile.”

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eminently and more effectually serve the publick even now, than in the stations you have so honourably fill'd. Think of Tully, Bacon, and Clarendon. Is it not the latter, the disgrac'd part of their lives, which you most envy, and which you would choose to have liv'd?

“I am tenderly sensible of the wish you express, that no part of your misfortune may pursue me. But God knows I am every day less and less fond of my native country, (so torn as it is by Party-rage,) and begin to consider a friend in exile as a friend in death, one gone before, where I am not unwilling nor unprepared to follow after; and where (however various or uncertain the roads and voyages of another world may be,) I cannot but entertain a pleasing hope that we may meet again.

“I faithfully assure you, that in the mean time there is no one, living or dead, of whom I shall think oftner or better than of you. I shall look upon you as in a state between both, in which you will have from me all the passions and



You have from me all the passions, all the warm wishes that can attend the living, and all the respects and tender sense of the loss that we feel for the dead; and shall always depend upon that friendship, kind memory, and good offices, altho' I never were to hear nor see the effects of them; like the trust we have in benevolent spirits who, tho' we never hear nor see them, [we] ever think to be constantly serving & praying for us.

"Whenever I am willing to write to you, I shall conclude that You are intentionally doing so to me, and every time I think of You, I will believe You are thinking of me; and I shall never suffer to be forgotten, nay to be but faintly remember'd the Honour, the Pleasure, the Pride I must ever have in reflecting, how frequently You have delighted me, how kindly You have distinguished me, how cordially You have advis'd me in Conversation and Study, in w<sup>ch</sup> I shall always want You and wish for You: In my most lively, in my most thoughtfull hours I shall equally bear about me the Impressions of you; and perhaps it will not be in this life only that I shall have cause to remember the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

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warm wishes that can attend the living, and all the respect and tender sense of loss that we feel for the dead. And I shall ever depend upon your constant friendship, kind memory, and good offices, tho' I were never to see or hear the effects of them; like the trust we have in benevolent Spirits, who, tho' we never see or hear them, we think are constantly serving us, and praying for us.

"Whenever I am wishing to write to you I shall conclude you are intentionally doing so to me: and every time that I think of you I will believe you are thinking of me. I never shall suffer to be forgotten (nay, to be but faintly remember'd) the honour, the pleasure, the pride I must ever have in reflecting how frequently you have delighted me, how kindly you have distinguish'd me, how cordially you have advis'd me! In conversation, in study, I shall always want you, and wish for you; in my most lively and in my most thoughtful hours I shall equally bear about me the impressions of you; and perhaps it will not be in This life only that I shall have cause to remember and acknowledge the Friendship of the Bishop of Rochester.

"I am, &c."

“ Be assur’d that I wish for an occasion of publickly bearing testimony of the truth in your behalf, and shall be glad to be call’d upon, and so wou’d Your friend you mention.\* Wou’d to God we cou’d act for You, but if not that, at least let us appear for You.

“ I am, my Lord, &c.”

The House of Commons went into a grand committee upon the Bill “For inflicting certain pains and penalties upon Francis lord bishop of Rochester,” upon the 6th of April, 1723; and when it came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties it was moved by its promoters that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, be banished the Kingdom, be guilty of Felony if he returned, and that it should not be in the King’s power to pardon him without consent of Parliament. After some debate, the question was carried without a division; and three days after the Bill was passed, and sent up to the House of Lords.

The Bishop, who had declined to enter upon his defence before the Commons, was on the 6th of May brought before his peers, attended by his counsel, Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Sergeant Wynne; and he was again brought to the bar on the five following days. It was on the 10th of May that his friend Pope appeared as one of the witnesses in his favour, with the object mentioned in the preceding letters. The report of the trial does not detail the poet’s evidence. His appearance is briefly noticed as follows: “The Bishop mentioned certain avocations which took up his time, and offered to bring proof thereof, if the House should think proper. But the same not being thought material, his Lordship called Mr. Pope, to give an account how he employed his time, and where he used constantly to find his Lordship when he visited him; and, in regard of the great intimacy there was between them, Whether he suspected

\* Dr. Arbuthnot. The whole of this last passage of the letter has not been before published.

the Bishop was engaged in such matters as were laid to his charge? And he was examined upon oath." At this tantalising point with respect to Pope's testimony, the reporter says no more;<sup>a</sup> but the poet's own account of the incident is thus related by his friend Spence:

"I never could speak in public, and I do't believe that, if it was a set thing, I could give an account of any story to twelve friends together, though I could tell it to any three of them with a great deal of pleasure. When I was to appear for the Bishop of Rochester, in his trial, though I had but ten words to say, and that on a plain point,—how that Bishop spent his time whilst I was with him at Bromley, I made two or three blunders in it, and that notwithstanding the first row of Lords, which was all I could see, were mostly of my acquaintance."<sup>b</sup>

The substance, however, of what Pope actually said is given by the Bishop's counsel, serjeant Wynne, in the following terms: "We have likewise shewn your lordships by Mr. Pope, who has been for these two or three last years the most constant companion of his Lordship's hours,—two or three days, he says, almost in every week, and an hour or two almost in every of those days,—that his Lordship generally sat in one room, which I think was his bedchamber; that he was admitted to him at all hours, and into all companies, and never found the discourse change at his coming in; that his Lordship never in the least discovered any thoughts or intentions like those now charged upon him; but [that he] had heard occasionally many things drop from the Bishop of a tendency directly contrary."<sup>c</sup>

Upon this statement Mr. Reeve, one of the counsel for the Bill, made the following remarks in reply:

"My Lords, another evidence is Mr. Pope, a gentleman of learn-

<sup>a</sup> State Trials, edit. Howell, 1812, vol. xvi. col. 572.

<sup>b</sup> Spence's Anecdotes, edit. Singer, p. 156.

<sup>c</sup> Howell's State Trials, 8vo. 1812, vol. xvi. col. 584.

ing, with whom my Lord Bishop of Rochester used to converse; and he gives you an account that he knew nothing of this conspiracy, that the Bishop never opened his mouth to him about it, nor acquainted him with it, that he was frequently with him, and their discourse was only about matters of literature. No doubt my Lord Bishop hath conversed with persons on different subjects, to whom he would communicate nothing of an affair of this nature."

On the 11th of May, the Bishop himself, his counsel having been previously heard, delivered a long and able speech <sup>a</sup> in his own defence; after which he was remanded to the Tower. The Bill, depriving him of his ecclesiastical dignities, and sentencing him to perpetual banishment, passed the Lords on the 16th of May, by a majority of 83 to 43, and received the royal assent on the 27th of

<sup>a</sup> Pope remarked to Spence, "The Bishop of Rochester's speech, as it is printed, could not be as he spoke it. I was there all the while. Both the Bishop and myself minded the time, when he began, and when he left off. He was two hours in speaking it, and as it is printed you can't well be above an hour reading it.—'Was there not an Act of Parliament read in the midst of it?'—No, I don't remember that there was: but he was indulged to sit down for two or three minutes to rest himself a little between the speaking." The speech was printed from a short-hand copy made for the use of Mr. Wearg, one of the King's counsel, soon after made solicitor-general for his exertions on this occasion. (Note in Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 157.) With that edition the speech as printed in the *State Trials* corresponds: but among the Bishop's papers were found two MS. copies so far different, that Mr. Nichols printed both of them in his *Atterbury Correspondence*, one in vol. iv. p. 383 (edit. 1783), and the other in vol. v. p. 365, the latter being in the Bishop's own handwriting, and supposed to contain his latest corrections.

The following advertisement, dated June 22, 1723, is from *The True Briton* of that time, and was inserted by Jonah Bowyer, who was the publisher of Atterbury's Sermons: "Whereas there is this Day published, A Pamphlet, Intituled, The Speech (&c.). Printed for A. Moore, near S. Paul's, This is to give Notice, that the same is *surreptitiously* printed, without the Knowledge or Consent of the Bishop, or any of his Friends; and besides that it is *spurious*, it is very *imperfect*: several intire Paragraphs being omitted, and many others vilely mangled; as any Person that heard his Lordship speak, will readily observe. But the Publick may, in due Time, expect an Authentick and Correct Copy of his Lordship's Speech, and of the Proceedings against him." Notwithstanding the estimation in which this Defence has been generally held for eloquence and pathos, it disappointed Mr. Hallam, who remarked, "Atterbury's own speech is certainly below his fame, especially his peroration." (*Constitutional History of England*, iii. 337.)



the same month. On the 18th of June he was carried in a chair from his apartment in the Tower to the barge which conveyed him to the ship appointed to transport him to the continent.

Pope was an auditor of the Bishop's Defence, and the second Letter, which will now be placed before the reader, was evidently written immediately after. It is entitled in the MS. *Mr. Pope's Letter after the Bill pass'd*; which was on the 16th of May. It was suppressed by its writer when he published the first and third Letters of this series in the quarto volume which first made his letters public with his own avowed sanction, in the year 1737. It has not been ascertained that any of these letters had been published before that time; but the second—that now placed before the reader—appeared in the second volume of Atterbury's Correspondence, collected by Mr. Nichols in the year 1783, (p. 271,) but from what source derived is not there stated:<sup>a</sup>

*“ Mr. Pope's Letter after the Bill pass'd.*

“ MY LORD—While Yet I can write to You, I must and will correspond w<sup>th</sup> You, till the moment it be Felony;<sup>b</sup> and when I can no longer to You, I will write of You. To tell You that my heart is full of your Defence, is no more than I believe the worst enemy You have must own of his. You have really without a figure had all the Triumph the ancient Eloquence<sup>c</sup> boasts of. Their passions and consciences have done you right, tho' their votes will<sup>d</sup> not, You have met with the fate frequent to Good and Great men, to gain applause where You are deny'd justice. Let me take the only occasion I have had in the whole series of Your misfortunes to

<sup>a</sup> The variations from the Woolley MS. are but few. They are indicated in the following notes.

<sup>b</sup> By the act of pains and penalties it was made felony to correspond with the Bishop after the 25th of June.

<sup>c</sup> As published, that ancient eloquence.

<sup>d</sup> will in MS. Cole, have in Woolley MS.



congratulate you, not You alone, but POSTERITY, on this noble Defence. I already see in what Lustre that Innocency is to appear to after ages, w<sup>ch</sup> this has overbore and oppress'd; I know perfectly well, what a share of credit it will be to have appear'd on that side, or being call'd YOUR FRIEND. I am far prouder of that word you publickly spoke of me, than of any thing I have yet heard of my self in my whole life. Thanks be to God that I, a private man, concern'd in no Judicature, and Employ'd in no publick Cause, have had the honour in this great and shineing Incident, w<sup>ch</sup> will make the first figure in the History of this time, to enter as it were my Protest to Your Innocency, and my Declaration of Your Friendship. Be assur'd, my Dr L<sup>d</sup>, no time will ever efface the memory of that from my heart, shou'd I be deny'd the pleasure of expressing it evermore with my pen in this manner; but cou'd that permission be obtain'd w<sup>ch</sup> You had once the extream goodness to think of asking, even of those from whom You would ask nothing I believe but what lyas very near Your heart, cou'd the permission I say of Corresponding with you be obtain'd, I do assure you I would leave<sup>a</sup> off all other writing, and apply it wholly to You, where it wou'd please me best, and to the Amusement, or if I cou'd be so happy as to say, Comfort of Your Exile, till God and your Innocency, w<sup>ch</sup> will support You in it, restore you from it, than w<sup>ch</sup> there is not a sincerer or warmer prayer in the breast of,

“ My Lord, your ever affectionate, &c.”

It would seem that, when this letter was written, Pope did not expect to see his friend again; but, immediately before the Bishop's departure,<sup>b</sup> he was permitted to take a personal farewell. Of this

<sup>a</sup> *Hitherto misprinted tear.*

<sup>b</sup> Pope's inscription in the Bible, presently inserted, gives the date of the 17th of June : on the 18th the Bishop departed. It appears from Bishop Newton that Atterbury's friends had free access to take leave of him. He says that “ After the Westminster election in 1723 was over, some of the King's scholars [of whom Newton was then Captain] thought it a proper piece of respect to wait on their late Dean in the Tower, as every body had then free admittance to see and take leave of him : and, among other things

interview some particulars—the perfect accuracy of which has been justly doubted—have been preserved from the relation of Lord Chesterfield. “I went (said his Lordship) to Mr. Pope one morning at Twickenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt clasps, lying before him upon his table; and, as I knew his way of thinking upon that book, I asked him, jocosely, if he was going to write an Answer to it? ‘It is a present, (said he,) or rather a legacy, from my old friend the Bishop of Rochester. I went to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, where I saw this Bible upon his table. After the first compliments, the Bishop said to me, ‘My friend Pope, considering your infirmities, and my age and exile, it is not likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I give you this legacy<sup>a</sup> to remember me by it.’”—(Maty’s *Memoirs of the Earl of Chesterfield*, prefixed to the *Miscellaneous Works of that nobleman*, 4to. 1777, vol. i. p. 279: The continuation of the passage need not be extracted, the subject of Chesterfield’s insinuation of infidelity against Atterbury having been sufficiently discussed.<sup>b</sup>)

which he said to them, he applied to himself those lines of Milton, as he did likewise [see before, p. 7,] in a letter to Mr. Pope—

The world is all before me where to choose  
My place of rest, and Providence my guide.”

(*Life and Anecdotes of Thomas Newton, D.D. Bishop of Bristol*, written by himself, and prefixed to his *Works*, 4to. 1782, vol. i. p. 14.)

<sup>a</sup> “At parting, he presented Pope with a Bible, and said, with a disingenuousness of which no man who had studied the Bible to much purpose would have been guilty, ‘If ever you hear that I have any dealings with the Pretender, I give you leave to say that my punishment is just.’ Pope at this time really believed the Bishop to be an injured man. Arbuthnot seems to have been of the same opinion.”—(*Memoirs of Atterbury*, written by Lord Macaulay, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.) The statement here made rests on the authority of Bishop Newton, whose words are: “When he took his last leave of Mr. Pope, he told him he would allow him to say his sentence was just if he ever found he had any concerns with the Pretender’s family in his exile. But, notwithstanding this, as Bishop Warburton informs us (see *Pope’s Letters*,) Mr. Pope was convinced before the Bishop’s death that during his banishment he was in the intrigues of the Pretender.” (*Newton’s Life and Anecdotes*, p. 14.)

<sup>b</sup> Particularly in a long letter from the Rev. Samuel Badcock to Mr. Nichols, printed in *Atterbury’s Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 79; second edition, vol. ii. p. 271; and

The Bible, which formed this memorable present, is now in the possession of Lord Viscount Hawarden,<sup>a</sup> at Dundrum Castle, near Cashel, in Ireland. It is one of the edition printed at the University of Cambridge in 1674. It has, on a fly-leaf, the following inscription in the handwriting of Pope, of which Lord Hawarden has favoured me with an accurate copy:

Franciscus Episcopus Roffensis,  
Vir admodum Venerandus et Amicissimus,  
Alexandro Pope Dono dedit,  
Jun. 17, 1723, Anno Exilii 1<sup>o</sup>.  
Cape dona Extrema Tuorum !

The above lines were the whole of the original inscription. After Atterbury's death was added,

Obiit Vir Venerandus Lutetiis  
mense Februario, Anno D'ni 1734,  
Exilii 8<sup>o</sup>, Ætatis 71<sup>o</sup>.

And seven years later the volume was presented by Pope to his friend Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, with this insertion:—

Mar. 30, 1739.

A. Pope, Radulpho Allen, Viro de se  
atque omnibus hominibus bene merito,  
in Usum Sacelli sui Widcombiensis  
Dedit.

A third Letter is extant, written by Pope to Atterbury at this

in the Works of Pope, edit. Warton, viii. 129, edit. Bowles, viii. 154, edit. Roscoe, vol. ix. p. 238. See also the last Life of Pope, by Mr. Robert Carruthers, (second edit. 1857, p. 213,) where it is remarked, "An anecdote has been related, on the alleged authority of Pope, tending to prove that Atterbury himself was nearly all his life a sceptic. This is incredible. He was aspiring, turbulent, and faithless as a politician, and not without dissimulation and hypocrisy in private life; but his whole career, his published writings, and correspondence, are opposed to the idea that he disbelieved the faith he preached and professed."

<sup>a</sup> Mary Allen, the niece of Ralph, was the second wife of Cornwallis first Viscount Hawarden, the grandfather of the present Viscount.

period. This is not in the Woolley manuscript, but was published by its writer in 1737, at which time he gave it the date of the 2d of May. His editors<sup>a</sup> have dated it on the 17th of that month; and Mr. Roscoe has ascribed the letter last inserted to June.<sup>b</sup> It now seems more probable that the second letter<sup>b</sup> was written in May, when Pope was freshly impressed with Atterbury's Defence, during the delivery of which he had been present;<sup>c</sup> and that this letter, beginning "Once more," was written very shortly before the Bishop's departure, in the month of June. Like the first, it may be suspected of having received sundry touches and heightenings of expression, when, fourteen years after, and subsequently to Atterbury's death, its writer sent it to the press.

"May 2, [*or June ?*] 1723.

"Once more I write to you as I promis'd, and this once I fear will be the last! the Curtain will soon be drawn between my friend and me, and nothing left but to wish you a long good-night. May you enjoy a state of repose in this life, not unlike that Sleep of the soul which some have believ'd is to succeed it, where we lie utterly forgetful of that world from which we are gone, and ripening for that to which we are to go. If you retain any memory of the past, let it only image to you what has pleas'd you best; sometimes present a dream of an absent friend, or bring you back an agreeable conversation. But, upon the whole, I hope you will think less of the time past than of the future; as the former has been less kind to you than the latter infallibly will be. Do not envy the world your Studies;<sup>d</sup> they will tend to the benefit of men against whom you

<sup>a</sup> Warton's Pope, viii. 128, followed by Bowles and Roscoe. By Warburton it is dated May only: he following the edition of Pope's Works printed for T. Cooper, London, 1737.

<sup>b</sup> Following the Atterbury Correspondence. This second letter was known only to Roscoe, and not to the previous editors of Pope's Works.

<sup>c</sup> "I was there all the while." See the note before, in p. 13.

<sup>d</sup> This, observed Bishop Newton, "was most excellent advice;" and "it is much to be lamented that this advice was no better followed, that such talents and faculties were no better employed, and that he was still dealing in politics, instead of writing some work of



can have no complaint, I mean of all Posterity: and perhaps at your time of life, nothing else is worth your care. What is every year of a wise man's life but a censure or critique on the past? Those whose date is the shortest, live long enough to laugh at one half of it: the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all. You may now begin to think your Manhood was too much a puerility; and you'll never suffer your Age to be but a second infancy. The toys and baubles of your childhood are hardly now more below you, than those toys of our riper and of our declining years, the drums and rattles of Ambition, and the dirt and bubbles of Avarice.

"At this time, when you are cut off from a little society, and made a citizen of the world at large, you should bend your talents not to serve a Party, or a few, but all Mankind. Your Genius should mount above that mist in which its participation and neighbourhood with earth long involved it. To shine abroad and to heaven, ought to be the business and the glory of your present situation. Remember it was at such a time that the greatest Lights of antiquity dazzled and blazed the most, in their retreat, in their exile, or in their death. But why do I talk of dazzling or blazing? it was then that they did good, that they gave light, and that they became Guides to mankind.

"Those aims alone are worthy of spirits truly great, and such I therefore hope will be yours. Resentment indeed may remain, perhaps cannot be quite extinguished in the noblest minds; but revenge never will harbour there. Higher principles than those of the first, and better principles than those of the latter, will infallibly influence men, whose thoughts and whose hearts are enlarged, and cause them to prefer the Whole to any part of mankind, especially to so small a part as one's single self.

"Believe me, my Lord, I look upon you as a Spirit enter'd into

genius and learning, of which he was very capable. He wrote only two or three little pieces, his Essay on the Character of Iapis in Virgil; his Vindication of Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Smalridge, and himself from the charge of interpolating Lord Clarendon's History; and little or nothing besides, but a few criticisms on some French authors."



another life, as one just upon the edge of Immortality; where the Passions and Affections must be much more exalted, and where you ought to despise all little Views, and all mean Retrospects. Nothing is worth your looking back; and therefore look forward, and make (as you can) the World look after you. But take care that it be not with Pity, but with Esteem and Admiration.

“I am with the greatest sincerity, and passion for your Fame as as well as Happiness,—Your, &c.”

The continuance of Atterbury's affectionate regard towards Pope is strongly testified by a letter which he wrote from Montpellier, on the 20th Nov. 1729, soon after the death of his daughter, Mrs. Morice: “Yes, dear Sir, I have had all you designed for me; and have read all (as I read whatever you write) with esteem and pleasure. But your last letter,<sup>a</sup> full of friendship and goodness, gave me such impressions of concern and tenderness as neither I can express, nor you, perhaps, with all the force of your imagination, fully conceive.

“I am not master,” &c. (See Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, i. 145.)

Pope was remembered by Atterbury in the last memoranda for his will,<sup>b</sup> written in the same year, in the following terms: “I give to Mr. Pope any book he shall think fit to choose out of my small collection, to be preserved by him in memory of me.”

<sup>a</sup> This letter does not appear to be extant.

<sup>b</sup> Nichols's Atterbury Correspondence, vol. i. p. xii. Pope had formerly presented to the Bishop an edition of Homer, printed at Paris in 1554; and the Bishop's inscription in it is printed *ibid.* iii. 518.

## NOTE.

The collection of Epistolary Correspondence and other miscellanies by Bishop Atterbury, edited by my grandfather Mr. John Nichols, was published at various periods, as the materials came to hand,—Volumes i. and ii. in 1783, Vol. iii. in 1784, Vol. iv. in 1787, and Vol. v. in 1798. The last volume (though often found in company with the preceding,) contains an Index which applies to the *Second Edition*, of which Vols. i. and ii. are dated 1789, and Vols. iii. and iv. 1790. These volumes were reprinted in the years they bear, but were not actually published until June 13, 1799, which is the date of the Advertisement prefixed to the first volume of this Second Edition. The fifth volume contains a Memoir of the Bishop; in which the scattered contents of the whole collection are reviewed in their chronological arrangement.

The originals of Atterbury's Letters edited by Mr. Nichols are now for the most part deposited in the British Museum. Those which were the origin and foundation of his work, namely the series relating to the last illness and death of the Bishop's daughter Mrs. Morice, had been purchased by Mr. Nichols at the sale of the library of Topham Beauclerk, Esq. in the year 1781. Mr. Nichols presented them to the national collection in the year 1786, and they are preserved, together with fourteen letters presented by Nathaniel Chauncy, Esq., in the Additional MSS. 5143, 5144. Atterbury's Letters to Bishop Trelawney, 140 in number, are in the MS. Addit. 5951: they came from the writer's grandson Francis Atterbury, D.D. Precentor of Cloyne and Rector of Clonmell, to Mr. Nichols, who presented them to the British Museum in 1806. Seven more letters of Atterbury (with one of Bishop Potter) were presented by the Rev. William Morice in 1815: they were at first placed in the MS. Addit. 6408, but were removed in 1849 to the volume 5144. The whole of these had been published by Mr. Nichols in the Atterbury Correspondence.

Another collection of thirty-nine Letters of Bishop Atterbury to his daughter Mrs. Morice and her husband, together with many others of the

bishop's manuscripts, which were preserved by his grandson the Rev. Henry Morice, M.A. Vicar of Ashwell, Herts, are now for sale in the hands of Messrs. Sotheran and Willis.

Among Cole's transcripts of the Correspondence of the Rev. John Strype the Ecclesiastical Historian, there are seven notes of Atterbury that have not been printed. (MS. Addit. 5853.)

It is, however, the Royal Library at Windsor Castle that contains those letters of Atterbury, the appearance of which at length placed beyond further dispute the actual course of his political intrigues. In the year 1847 the publication of "The Stuart Papers," preserved by the exiled royal family, and now in the possession of Her Majesty, was commenced with a volume of Letters of Bishop Atterbury, edited by John Hulbert Glover, Esq. F.S.A., Her Majesty's Librarian, who has two further volumes of Atterbury's Correspondence nearly ready for the press.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE  
TO  
THE DISCOVERY  
OF THE  
JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL  
IN MARCH 1627-8:

PRINTED IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE  
CAMDEN MISCELLANY.

---

BY  
JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.LIX.





My friend Mr. Bruce, who is engaged in examining and calendar-  
ing the documents of the Reign of Charles the First preserved in  
Her Majesty's State Paper Office, has had the kindness to point out  
to me some particulars with regard to the Papers seized in the  
Jesuits' College at Clerkenwell, which appear to be sufficiently  
important to be communicated to the Camden Society in the form  
of a Supplement to my former publication on that subject.

It has been ascertained, by comparison with other papers written  
by Sir John Coke,<sup>a</sup> then secretary of state, that the Narrative was  
drawn up by him, and not by Sir Robert Heath, the attorney-  
general. The original of the Narrative preserved in the State Paper  
Office is in Sir John Coke's own handwriting. The papers seized  
at the Jesuits' College are also indorsed by him, and by his hand  
they were marked with the letters of the alphabet, A to Z, by which  
he refers to them in his Narrative.

The papers marked N. P. and Q. have been recovered since I  
examined the series in the year 1852. Those which were marked  
B. C. L. and O. are still missing.

The papers N. and P. are now printed.

Those marked Q. are two copies of a long letter, in English,  
addressed to a person in a state of uncertainty respecting the oath of  
allegiance, arguing at length the impropriety of its being taken by  
Roman Catholics. This letter has neither signature, date, nor  
address.

<sup>a</sup> I before printed this name Cooke: in which way it was commonly written, and no  
doubt usually pronounced, by the Secretary's contemporaries. But it appears by his own  
signature that, like the great Chief Justice, (to whom he was not nearly if at all  
related,) he wrote his name *Coke*.

It should also be noticed that the copy in the State Paper Office of "A Letter founde amongst some Jesuits" (pp. 33—40) is the very same which came from the study of archbishop Laud (p. 12.), and from which Prynne printed. It bears the following indorsement:

3 / x  
 A Jesuit's Leter sent to y<sup>e</sup> }  
 Rector at Bruxells about y<sup>e</sup> } *In Laud's hand-*  
 insuinge Parliament } *writing.*

(7) 14

*Arminianisme.—In Prynne's handwriting.*

This word probably refers to the passage of the Jesuit's Letter which will be found in *The Discovery, &c.* p. 38, commencing, "Butt to returne to the maine fabrique of our foundation, which is Arminianisme."

It thus appears that the omissions made by Prynne when he printed this document—or libel, as it may more correctly be designated—were wilful omissions, and that the words "Leave out this where the lines are drawn." (note, p. 34) came from his hand.

On the authorship of the "Jesuit's Letter" some important evidence will be found hereafter, in p. 10.

N.

*Indorsement, in the handwriting of Mr. secretary Coke.*

Mutius Vitellosius, General of the Jesuits, to Tho: Salisburie, who had written unto him concerning the state of the Societie, with like acknowledgment to Father Rob. Frevel.



R<sup>de</sup> in X<sup>o</sup> P'r.

Pax Chr'i.

Gratissimæ mihi fuere, quæ RV<sup>a</sup>. 16. Januarij, de statu familiæ, in qua commoratur, scripsit. Etsi enim imbecillior valetudo Rectoris et Ma-

gistri Novitiorum molestiam mihi aliquam pariat, eâ tamen inde minus premor, quòd cùm hoc tempore ob publicas difficultates pauci admodum tyrones istic sint, studio, et industria illorum instruendi, non ita magnum incommodum ex illorum infirmitate accipi credam. Quod si aliquando uberior istic seges laborum ipsis oblata fuerit, spero etiam divinam benignitatem illis vires et robur laboribus subeundis pares suppedituram. Interim gratias ago RV<sup>o</sup>. pro diligenti ac sedula sua scriptione, uti et P. Roberto Frevillo, qui etiam officio suo cumulatè satisfecit. Quod ut RV<sup>a</sup> eidem significet, ac meo nomine amanter salutet, ab ea valde peto. Atque hisce me . . . tis suis sacrificiis ac precibus commendo. Romæ, 10. Aprilis (*the date of the year torn away with the seal*).

RV<sup>o</sup>.

Servus in Chr'o,

MUTIUS VITELLESIVS.

P. Thomæ Salisburio, Londinum.

*External direction*, Al molto Mag<sup>co</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> mio Osser<sup>mo</sup>  
il S<sup>r</sup> Tomaso Salisburio,  
Londra.

P.

*Indorsement in secretary Coke's hand*, A Register of the names according to their orders and times of appearance.

R. P. Richardus Banxius	P. Franciscus Brownus <sup>a</sup>
P. Robertus Frevillus	P. Robertus Coccius
P. Thomas Salisburio	P. Jo'es Gravenerius
P. Joannes Clarus <sup>a</sup>	P. Gulielmus Elizæi
P. Thomas Poultonus	P. Edmundus Bradshawus
	P. Jacobus Jones
<i>Novitii.</i>	P. Robertus Tempestus
P. Nicolaus Lusherus	P. Franciscus Gardinerus
P. Joannes Monnockus	P. Henricus Claxtonus

*Note.*—The Paper Z, (before printed, Discovery, p. 46,) is a copy of this list without the distinctive headings, omitting the names <sup>a</sup> of Clare, Brown, Ipsley, and Pansford, and altering Simson <sup>b</sup> into Benson.

P. Christophorus Warnerus  
 P. Nathanael Southwellus  
 P. Jo'es Dormerus  
 Joannes Stephani  
 Gulielmus Putnæus  
 Jo'es a S<sup>to</sup> Edmundo  
 Thomas Gervasii

*Veterani missionarii.*

P. Jo'es Fisherus  
 P. Gulielmus Savillus  
 P. Christophorus Grinwoodus  
 P. Jo'es Yvisonus  
 P. Simon Swinburnus  
 P. Sabinus Chamberus  
 P. Henricus Morus  
 P. Richardus Whitmorus  
 P. Robertus Bucquus  
 P. Thomas Ipslæus <sup>a</sup>  
 P. Timotheus Hayus  
 P. Gulielmus Morsæus  
 P. Henricus Belfildus  
 P. Thomas Abercrombæus

P. Franciscus Milesius  
 P. Thomas Lathwaytus  
 P. Joannes Radfordus  
 P. Henricus Floydus  
 P. Laurentius Worthingtonus  
 P. Philippus Fisherus  
 P. Odoardus Williamsonus  
 P. Guido Hollandus  
 P. Henricus Hawkinus  
 P. Thomas Keelus  
 P. Jo'es Grimstonus  
 P. Thomas Pricius  
 P. Georgius Morlæus  
 P. Henricus Wilkinsonus  
 P. Jo'es Pansfordus <sup>a</sup>

*In Missione Suffolciensi.*

P. Petrus Simsonus <sup>b</sup>  
 P. Gulielmus Brooksbæus  
 P. Franciscus Yongus  
 P. Henricus Copingerus  
 P. Thomas Gulielmi  
 P. Thomas Everardus

The Suffolk mission mentioned at the close of this list is the more remarkable, as Suffolk is not one of the counties into which the operations of the Jesuits are stated to have extended, in the account of their colleges, extracted in *The Discovery*, &c. p. 47, from the Rev. Dr. Oliver's "Collections towards illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish members of the Society of Jesus."

<sup>a b</sup> See note in previous page.

On another sheet is the following list, containing several of the same names, with others.

*Nondum examinati ad gradum.*

P. Thomas Poultonus  
 P. Nicolaus Lusherus  
 P. Jo'es Mannockus  
 P. Jacobus Jones  
 P. Franciscus Gardinerus  
 P. Henricus Claptonus  
 P. Chr'ophorus Warnerus  
 P. Nathanael Southwellus  
 P. Jo'es Dormerus  
 P. Richardus Whitmorus  
 P. Robertus Bucquus  
 P. Timotheus Hayus  
 P. Gulielmus Morsæus  
 P. Franciscus Milesius  
 P. Henr. Hawkinus  
 P. Jo'es Grimstonus

On a third sheet:

Aderunt in S. Ignatio, a p<sup>o</sup> Aug:  
 usque ad p<sup>m</sup> Octob. novitii.

Ad renovanda vota circa p<sup>am</sup> Eeb-  
 domodam Julii et Januarii, die quo  
 monebuntur.

P. Rich. Whitmorus  
 P. Rob. Frevillus  
 P. Philippus Fisherus  
 P. Joannes Pansfordus  
 P. Gulielmus Elisæi  
 P. Odoardus Williamsonus  
 P. Henricus Wilkinsonus

2<sup>a</sup> Eebd. Julii et Januarii, die  
 quo monebuntur.

P. Georgius Morlæus

P. Tho. Keelus  
 P. Jo'es Grimstonus  
 P. Rob. Bucquus  
 P. Guil. Morsæus  
 P. Thomas Poultonus  
 P. Tho. Salisburius

3<sup>a</sup> Eebdo. Julii et Januarii, die  
 quo monebuntur.

P. Timotheus Hayus  
 P. Franciscus Milesius  
 P. Guido Hollandus  
 P. Henricus Hawkinus  
 P. Nicolaus Lusherus  
 P. Joannes Mannockus



Aderunt ad annuam recollectio-	15 Octob.
nem.	P. Jo'es Grimstonus
P <sup>o</sup> die non festo post Dom. in	P. Guido Hollandus
Albis.	P. Henr. Hawkinus
P. Thomas Abercrombæus	P. Franciscus Milesius
P. Nicolaus Lusherus	
P. Joannes Manoccus	3 Novemb.
P. Gulielmus Elisæi	P. Petrus Simsonus
Sabb. ante Dom. 3 post Pascha.	P. Gul. Broosbæus ( <i>sic</i> )
P. Simon Swinburnus	P. Gul. Williamson
P. Sabinus Chamberus	P. Joa. Pansfordus
P. Tho: Keelus	16 Novemb.
P. Guliel. Morsæus	P. Henr. Coppingerus
Die Martis post Dom. 4 a Pascha.	P. Tho. Everardi
P. Joannes Fisherus	P. Hen. Wilkinsonus
P. Guil. Savillus	P. Timot. Hayus
P. Henricus Floydus	3 Decemb.
P. Rob. Frevillus	P. Rich. Whitmorus
Ipso die Ascensionis a prandio.	P. Tho. Blofildus
P. Jo'es Ivysonus	P. Henricus Morus
P. Philippus Fisherus	P. Jo'es Clarus
P. Chr'opho. Greenwoodus	3 Feb.
P. Rob. Bucquus	(Blank)
Post festum corp <sup>ris</sup> Chr'i.	16.
P. Thomas Lathwaytus	(Blank)
P. Joannes Radfordus	Die lu. post 1. Dom. Quadrag.
P. Lawrentius Worthingtonus	(Blank)
P. Henricus Belfildus	Die lu. post Dom. 3. Quad.
Aderunt 2 Octobr.	(Blank)
P. Tho. Pricius	Reliquo tempore supplebit per
P. Georgius Morlæus	domesticos
P. Fran. Yongus	Adventantes et aliter impeditos.
P. Tho. Gulielmi	

## LIST OF THE PERSONS ARRESTED IN THE COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL.

(S. P. O. Dom. Char. I. 1628, March 15.)

<i>Guido</i>	George Holland	}	<i>alias Guy Holt.</i>
<i>Th. Poulton.</i>	Joseph Underhill		<i>alias Thomas Poulton.</i>
	Robert Beoment		These 5 were taken in a
	Daniell Stanhope		secret place.
<i>Henrie</i>	Edward More	}	<i>Edward Parr.</i>
	Margaret Isham		
<i>Ployden.</i>	Edmond Weedon, sicke	}	<i>Thomas Weeden.</i>
	John Penington, his servant		These remain in the house.
	Tho. Latham, the house		These 2 and the first 5
	keeper		are committed to the new
	George Kempe, gardiner		prison. <sup>a</sup>

*This Poulton, alias Underhil, is sonne to Poulton that abridged the Statutes.<sup>b</sup> This is released out of the new prison, by warrant from the boord, upon bond of 500<sup>li</sup>, with suerties to be forthcoming.<sup>c</sup>*

*Edmond Weeden, alias Ploiden, a preist, as may appeare by proofs. Crosse.<sup>d</sup>*

*Frances Plowden writeth to Tho. Acton, and calleth him brother; so Acton seemeth to bee Weeden alias Plowden.*

All the parts of the above which are in Italic are in the handwriting of Sir John Coke. It is indorsed also by Sir John Coke, *The names of the persons taken at Clerkenwell.*

<sup>a</sup> See the extracts from the Privy Council Register, in Discovery, &c. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> "Ferdinando Pulton of Lincolnes Inn, Esquire," as he is styled in the title-pages of his books. He was a learned barrister, and appears to have been encouraged and assisted by Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls. His first work, An Abstract of all the Penal Statutes, was published as early as 1560; and he continued his labours in the same path, to an advanced period of life. For greater facilities in their accomplishment he took a lodging near the Record Office in the Tower, and applied to the Council for an order that the Keeper of the Records might be allowed to deliver to him the Parliament Rolls, one by one, to be used by him at his lodging. He was then (perhaps about 1611) "almost fourscore." See Introduction to the Authentic Edition of the Statutes, vol. i. pp. xxiii. xxvii. liii.; and see a list of the titles and various editions of the works of this laborious man in Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, voce Pulton.

<sup>c</sup> This was done pursuant to an order of council, July 12, 1628. Vide Discovery, &c. p. 42.

<sup>d</sup> i. e. Humphrey Cross, the messenger who made the arrest.

The following is the commencement of a letter in the State Paper Office, undated, but written in 1628, addressed by Sir John Maynard, K.B., who was then M.P. for Calne,<sup>a</sup>

“To the D. of Buckingham his Grace.

“My Lord, I was astonished and amased when my brother told mee your Grace was not only ielius (jealous) of mee, but that yow did beeleeve I had bin malitius and trecherous agaynst yow. I know the Jesuites letter was the ground of your ielousy; but, had your Grace leysure to perruse it, if yow doe but consider the circumstance of time (when secritary Cooke spake of letters that he had intercepted of the Jesuites, and what wispering and caballing there was among Parliment men that sumthing containd in those letters concerned the Duke, otherwise they had been published too humor the house,) certainly could yow have sene (how, like a whirlwind) they chopped aboute and shifted there opinions, yow would have smiled and not frowned at it.”

Sir John Maynard afterwards proceeds to speak of other matters, which might have given the Duke offence, as “what I spoke of Dolbier,”<sup>b</sup> &c., and asks him, “Did you not in my Lord Craven’s and the City busines promis yow would never be jelius of mee: did yow not likewise, beefore the Parliment, give me comission too converse with your enimies and wright what I pleased? I confes I published A discourse too show yow were noe Arminian, too the which I annexed certayne resons why the Parliment should not medle with yow.”

From these passages it appears not improbable that the author of the Jesuit’s Letter was Sir John Maynard.

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Maynard, second son of Sir Henry Maynard sometime secretary to Lord Burghley, and brother to William first Lord Maynard. He was seated at Walthamstow in Essex, was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles the First, and married a daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton an alderman of London.

<sup>b</sup> Colonel John Dalbier, a native of the Low Countries employed in the service of England, particularly at the Isle of Rhé. He was at this time engaged in enlisting foreigners to be employed in England, a matter which excited the jealousy of parliament. He was subsequently remarkable as the military instructor of Oliver Cromwell: and finally met his death with Lord Francis Villiers at Kingston.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL  
OF  
THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

ELECTED 3rd MAY, 1858.

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THE Council of the Camden Society, elected on the 3rd of May, 1858, are happy to Report the continued well-being of the Society.

The Council have to regret the deaths during the past year of—

W. WINGFIELD BAKER, Esq.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON FROUDE.

JERE HILL, Esq.

PHILIP KERNAN, Esq.

MISS MACLEOD.

LORD MURRAY.

GEORGE STEWART NICHOLSON, Esq.

The Rev. CHARLES WELLBELOVED.

To this list the Council much regret to add the names of three Gentlemen who have special claims on the consideration of the Society. They are,

I. Their late respected colleague PETER LEVESQUE, Esq., for many years a constant attendant at the meetings of the Council, where his habits of business were always available for the purposes of the Society;

II. That distinguished ornament of our literature, and of this as of every other Society which had the good fortune to enrol his name on its List of Members, the learned historian of our Constitutional History and of the Literature of Europe, HENRY HALLAM, Esq.; and

III. The Rev. THOMAS TAYLOR LEWIS, M.A. the accomplished and painstaking Editor of the Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, published by the Society in 1853.

The Works issued during the past year have been :—

1. Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke. Edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. V.P.S.A.



II. Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq. Envoy at Paris, and Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II. and James II. including Letters from his brother George Marquess of Halifax. From a MS. in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, and from originals in H. M. State Paper Office. Edited by W. DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A.

III. The Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin, by PHILIPPE DE REIMES, a Trouvère of the Thirteenth Century. Edited, from the unique MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by M. LE ROUX DE LINCY.

These will be followed almost immediately by

IV. The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Fourth, containing: 1. A London Chronicle in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; 2. The Childe of Bristow, a Poem by John Lydgate; 3. Expenses of the Judges of Assize riding the Western and Oxford Circuits, temp. Elizabeth; 4. The Incredulity of St. Thomas, one of the Corpus Christi Plays at York; 5. Sir Edward Lake's Interview with Charles the First; 6. Letters of Pope to Atterbury when in the Tower of London; 7. Supplementary Note on the Jesuits' College at Clerkenwell;—

a Volume which it is hoped will be received with the same satisfaction as its predecessors, to which it will certainly be found fully equal in variety and interest.

The following Works have been added to the List of Suggested Publications during the past year:—

I. Sir Sackville Crow's Account of the Privy Purse Expenses of the Duke of Buckingham. To be Edited by JOHN FORSTER, Esq.

II. A Register of the Priory of St. Mary, Worcester, containing an account of the Lands and Possessions of that Church in the early part of the Thirteenth Century. To be Edited by the Ven. ARCHDEACON HALE.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the Camden Society has not at present so large a List of Members as it had some years ago, on account of the very success which has attended the Society itself. Its institution, and the number of Works of Historical and Antiquarian interest which it has published, have contributed to foster that taste for studies of this nature which is now so widely disseminated. Hence have arisen numerous Societies having objects more or less similar to that of the Camden Society, and many Gentlemen, deeming it undesirable to join all these bodies, confine their subscriptions to those whose objects are most directly in harmony with their own special branches of inquiry.

The Camden Society has been the means of placing in the hands of Historical Students nearly ninety Publications, all of considerable import-



ance, although, but for the existence of the Society, they would probably never have been committed to the press. A mere glance at the titles of these Works will establish the high claims of the Camden Society to the constant support of all lovers of Historical learning.

Taking as of the first importance the Works which the Camden Society has published on the subject of our CIVIL AND POLITICAL HISTORY, we shall find—

RESTORATION OF EDWARD IV.  
WARKWORTH'S CHRONICLE.  
HAYWARD'S ANNALS OF ELIZABETH.  
NARRATIVES OF CONTESTS IN IRELAND.  
CHRONICLE OF WILLIAM DE RISHANGER.  
THE LEYCESTER PAPERS.  
TRANSLATION OF POLYDORE VERGIL'S ENGLISH HISTORY.  
TRAVELS OF NICANDER NUCIUS.  
NOTES OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE LONG PARLIAMENT.  
THE EGERTON PAPERS.  
THE RUTLAND PAPERS.  
ITALIAN RELATION OF ENGLAND.  
TWYSDEN ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.  
CHRONICLE OF REBELLION IN LINCOLNSHIRE IN 1470.

JOURNAL OF SIEGE OF ROUEN IN 1591.  
GEORGE FLEETWOOD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN.  
BULL ON THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VII.  
PROCEEDINGS IN KENT IN 1642.  
THE ABUSES AGAINST THE COMMONWEALTH.  
THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL.  
LETTERS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES THE SIXTH.  
CHRONICON PETROBURGENSE.  
CHRONICLE OF QUEEN JANE AND QUEEN MARY.  
SECRET SERVICE PAYMENTS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.  
GRANTS OF EDWARD THE FIFTH.  
CHARLES THE FIRST IN 1646.  
ENGLISH CHRONICLE, 1377-1461.

Nor will the results be less satisfactory if we consult the List of Books issued by the Society on the subject of our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS.  
CHRONICLE OF JOSCELINE DE BRAKELOND.  
APOLOGY FOR THE LOLLARDS.  
LETTERS RELATING TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF MIDDLEHAM.  
CHRONICLE OF ABERCONWAY.  
THE ANCLEN RIWLE.  
THE ROLL OF BISHOP SWINFELD.

The next division, that of LITERARY HISTORY, including POETRY and the DRAMA, is equally rich.

KYNG JOHAN.  
KEMP'S NINE DAIES WONDER.  
POEM ON DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II.  
POLITICAL SONGS OF ENGLAND.  
LATIN POETRY OF WALTER MAPES.  
THREE EARLY METRICAL ROMANCES.  
THE ROMANCES OF SIR PERCEVAL, &c.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS OF LITERARY MEN OF ENGLAND.  
WALTER MAPES DE NUGIS CURIALIUM.  
ROMANCE OF BLONDE OF OXFORD.  
HISTORICAL POEMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Nor are the contributions which the Society has made to LOCAL HISTORY either slight or unimportant; witness—

NORDEN'S DESCRIPTION OF ESSEX.  
FRENCH CHRONICLE OF LONDON.  
LIBER DE ANTIQUIS LEGIBUS.  
CHRONICLE OF CALAIS.  
CAMDEN'S VISITATION OF HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

BURY WILLS AND INVENTORIES.  
CHRONICLE OF GREY FRIARS OF LONDON.  
THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALERS IN ENGLAND.  
THE DOMESDAY OF ST. PAUL'S.

That the Society has done much also to illustrate the department of BIOGRAPHY and FAMILY HISTORY, the following List will show :—

DIARY OF DR. DEE.  
PRIVATE DIARY OF BISHOP CARTWRIGHT.  
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOHN BRAMSTON.  
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE EARL OF PERTH.  
SERVICES OF LORD GREY OF WILTON.  
DIARY OF WALTER YONGE.  
DIARY OF HENRY MACHYN.  
SMYTH'S OBITUARY.  
DIARY OF DR. EDWARD LAKE.  
THE TRELAWNY PAPERS.  
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. TASWELL.  
PILGRIMAGE OF SIR R. GUYLFORD.  
LETTERS OF LADY BRILLIANA HARLEY.

DIARY OF JOHN ROUS.  
EXPENSES OF JOHN OF BRABANT.  
HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES OF PRINCESS ELIZABETH.  
WARDROBE ACCOUNTS OF DUKE OF RICHMOND AND OF KATHARINE OF ARRAGON.  
THE VERNY PAPERS.  
THE TREVELYAN PAPERS.  
JOURNAL OF DEAN DAVIES.  
THE LIBER FAMELICUS OF SIR JAMES WHITELOCKE.  
THE SAVILE CORRESPONDENCE.

All these works contain matter more or less illustrative of MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &c.; but the following books specially apply to that branch of Archæological pursuit :—

PLUMPTON CORRESPONDENCE.  
ANECDOTES AND TRADITIONS.  
PROCEEDINGS AGAINST DAME ALICE KYTELER, ACCUSED OF SORCERY.  
THE REQUEST OF A TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISHMAN.

While all the publications of the Society contribute in a greater or less degree to our knowledge of PHILOLOGY, we may point to

THE PROMPTORIUM, AN ENGLISH AND LATIN DICTIONARY, VOLS. I. AND II.

as a work to which any Society might refer with confidence. The Council are not without hope that they may shortly be enabled to announce the completion of this valuable contribution to the history of our language.

After this brief sketch of what the Camden Society has already accomplished for Historical Literature, the Council feel that the Society may appeal with confidence for continued, and even for increased, support. The Council trust that this classification of the Society's Publications will be satisfactory, not only to the Members of the Society, to whom they render this account of their stewardship, but to all who appreciate the great objects for which the Society was established, and which successive Councils have kept steadily in view—the cause of sound historical knowledge—the promotion of Historical Truth.

By order of the Council,

JOHN BRUCE, Director.  
WILLIAM J. THOMS, Secretary.

20th April, 1859.

# REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

DATED APRIL 20TH, 1859.

WE, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an account of the Receipts and Expenditure from the 1st of April, 1858, to the 31st of March, 1859, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report, that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the period we have mentioned.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.
Balance of last year's account ....	302	3 10	Paid for printing and paper 750 copies of "Domesday of St. Paul's" .....	172	10 3
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in arrears at the last Audit. ....	97	0 0	The like of 750 copies of the "Liber Famelicus" ....	79	1 0
The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May last (1858) ..	340	0 0	The like of 750 copies of the "Savile Letters" .....	181	18 6
The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May next .....	16	0 0	The like of 750 copies of "Blonde of Oxford," Balance of Account .....	39	14 6
One year's dividend on £1016 3s. 1d. 3 per Cent. Consols, standing in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting Income Tax..	29	17 0	Paid for binding 600 copies of "Domesday of St. Paul's," &c. ....	25	12 0
			Paid for Transcripts, &c. ....	22	1 6
			Paid for Index to Symonds's Diary .....	10	10 0
			Paid for Advertisements .....	4	12 6
			Paid for delivery and transmission of 600 copies of "Domesday of St. Paul's," 600 "Liber Famelicus," 600 "Savile Correspondence, 500 "Blonde of Oxford," &c. with paper for wrapper, &c. ....	27	8 11
			Paid for Miscellaneous Printing .....	11	12 0
			Paid Messrs. Crompton for Paper .....	19	7 0
			One year's payment for keeping Accounts and General Correspondence of the Society .....	52	10 0
			Paid for postage, carriage of parcels, and other petty cash expenses .....	9	1 6
				655	19 8
			Balance .....	129	1 2
				£785	0 10
	£785	0 10			

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us, that over and above the present balance of £129 1s. 2d. there are outstanding various subscriptions of Foreign Members, and of Members resident at a distance from London, which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will shortly be received.

WM. SALT.

GEO. R. CORNER.

20th April, 1859.



# LOCAL SECRETARIES

OF

## THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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## WORKS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

### *For the Subscription of 1838-9.*

1. Restoration of King Edward the Fourth.
2. Kyng Johan, by Bishop Bale.
3. Deposition of King Richard the Second.
4. Plumpton Correspondence.
5. Anecdotes and Traditions.

### *For 1839.*

6. Political Songs.
7. Hayward's Annals of Elizabeth.
8. Ecclesiastical Documents.
9. Norden's Description of Essex.

10. Warkworth's Chronicle.

11. Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder.

### *For 1840.*

12. The Egerton Papers.
13. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda.
14. Irish Narratives, 1641 and 1690.
15. Rishanger's Chronicle.

### *For 1841.*

16. Poems of Walter Mapes.
17. Travels of Nicander Nucius.
18. Three Metrical Romances.
19. Diary of Dr. John Dee.

*For 1842.*

20. Apology for the Lollards.
21. Rutland Papers.
22. Diary of Bishop Cartwright.
23. Letters of Eminent Literary Men.
24. Proceedings against Alice Kyteler.

*For 1843.*

25. Promptorium Parvulorum: Tom. I.
26. Suppression of the Monasteries.
27. Leicester Correspondence.

*For 1844.*

28. French Chronicle of London.
29. Polydore Vergil.
30. The Thornton Romances.
31. Verney's Notes of Long Parliament.

*For 1845.*

32. Autobiography of Sir J. Bramston.
33. Correspondence of Duke of Perth.
34. Liber de Antiquis Legibus.
35. The Chronicle of Calais.

*For 1846.*

36. Polydore Vergil's History, Vol. I.
37. Italian Relation of England.
38. Church of Middleham.
39. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. I.

*For 1847.*

40. Life of Lord Grèy of Wilton.
41. Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.
42. Diary of Henry Machyn.

*For 1848.*

43. Visitation of Huntingdonshire.
44. Obituary of Richard Smyth.
45. Twysden on Government of England.

*For 1849.*

46. Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.
47. Chronicon Petroburgense.
48. Queen Jane and Queen Mary.

*For 1850.*

49. Bury Wills and Inventories.
50. Mapes de Nugis Curialium.
51. Pilgrimage of Sir R. Guylford.

*For 1851.*

52. Secret Services of Chas. II. & Jas. II.
53. Chronicle of Grey Friars of London.
54. Promptorium Parvulorum, Tom. II.

*For 1852.*

55. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. II.
56. Verney Papers to 1639.
57. The Ancren Riwe.

*For 1853.*

58. Letters of Lady B. Harley.
59. Roll of Bishop Swinfield. Vol. I.

*For 1854.*

60. Grants, &c. of Edward the Fifth.
61. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. III.
62. Roll of Bishop Swinfield. Vol. II.

*For 1855.*

63. Charles I. in 1646.
64. English Chronicle 1377 to 1461.
65. Knights Hospitallers.

*For 1856.*

66. Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642. Edited by Mrs. EVERETT GREEN.
67. The Trevelyan Papers. Part I. Edited by J. P. COLLIER, Esq. F.S.A.
68. Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, LL.D., Dean of Ross, from March 8, 1689, to Sept. 29, 1690. Edited by RICHARD CAULFIELD, B.A.

*For 1857-8.*

69. The Domesday of St. Paul's; a Description of the Manors belonging to the Church of St. Paul's in London in the year 1222. Edited by the VEN. WILLIAM HALE, M.A., Archdeacon of London.
70. The Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke. Edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. V.P.S.A.



*For 1858-9.*

71. Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy at Paris, and Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II. and James II., including Letters from his brother George Marquess of Halifax. From a MS. in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, and from Originals in H.M. State Paper Office. Edited by W. DURANT COOPER, Esq., F.S.A.

72. The Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

73. The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Fourth, containing: 1. A London Chronicle in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; 2. The Childe of Bristow, a Poem by John Lydgate; 3. Expenses of the Judges of Assize riding the Western and Oxford Circuits, temp. Elizabeth; 4. The Incredulity of St. Thomas, one of the Corpus Christi Plays at York; 5. Sir Edward Lake's Interview with Charles the First; 6. Letters of Pope to Atterbury when in the Tower of London; 7. Supplementary Note on the Jesuits' College at Clerkenwell.

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*Works in Progress.*

The Journals of Richard Symonds, an officer in the Royal Army, temp. Charles I. Edited by CHARLES EDWARD LONG, Esq. M.A. (*Nearly ready.*)

Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, and the contemporary Biographies of Archbishop Cranmer: selected from the Papers of John Foxe the Martyrologist. Edited by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A. (*Nearly ready.*)

Surrenden Papers. From the Originals in the possession of Sir Edward Dering, Bart. Edited by the Rev. LAMBERT B. LARKING, M.A. (*In the Press.*)

Letters of George Lord Carew, afterwards Earl of Totnes, to Sir Thomas Roe. Edited by JOHN MACLEAN, Esq. F.S.A. (*In the Press.*)

The following have recently been added to the List of Suggested Publications:—

I. A Selection from the Case-Book of Sir Theodore Mayerne, illustrative of the Personal Characteristics, Habits, Peculiarities, &c. of almost all the Historical Celebrities of the reign of James I. and Charles I. To be edited, with translations where required, by VINCENT STERNBERG, Esq.

II. Privy Purse Expenses of King William III. To be edited by J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Sec. S.A.

III. Narrative of the Services of M. Dumont Bostaquet in Ireland. To be edited by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D.

IV. The Correspondence of Sir Robert Cotton, from the Cottonian MS. Julius C. III. To be edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.

V. The Household Book of William Lord Howard, "Belted Will." To be edited by JAMES CROSBY, Esq., F.S.A.

VI. A Diary of Mr. Henry Townsend, of Elmley Court, co. Worcester, for the years 1640—42, 1656—61, from the original MS. in the possession of Sir T. Philipps, Bart. To be edited by Mrs. EVERETT GREEN.

VII. Sir Sackville Crowe's Account of the Privy Purse Expenses of the Duke of Buckingham. To be edited by JOHN FORSTER, Esq.

VIII. A Register of the Priory of St. Mary, Worcester, containing an account of the Lands and Possessions of the Church in the early part of the Thirteenth Century. To be edited by the Ven. ARCHDEACON HALE.

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*The subscription of One Pound is due in advance on the 1st of May in every year.*

*No Books are delivered until the Subscription for the Year has been paid.*

25, Parliament Street, Westminster,  
2nd May, 1859.

WILLIAM J. THOMS, Secretary.



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